A SHORT HISTORY OF *THE CHURCH OF IRELAND*

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BY

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

THE first edition of this book having been sold out, the Board of the Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge think it advisable to put a reprint of it within reach of members of the Church of Ireland. The author alone is responsible for the statements in the book, which, however, has the general approval of the Board of the Association.

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CHAPTER I.

THE EARLIEST AGES.

THERE is little standing-ground in the early history of Ireland. All is vague, mysterious, rudely magnificent. The native annalists take us back almost to the Deluge. According to them, there were five great immigrations. The leader of the first was Partholan, of the stock of Japhet. The second came from the shores of the Black Sea across Russia to the Baltic, and thence to Ireland, under the leadership of Nemedh. The third were the Firbolgs, or Belgæ. The fourth were the kinsmen of Nemedh, and were named the Tuatha de Danans. The fifth were the Milesians from Spain, who were also called Scoti, from Scota, the mother of Milesius.

What moiety of truth may be found in these stories we cannot tell. To the Christian

historian the history of Ireland may be said to commence with the mission of St. Patrick. It is, however, a mistake to suppose that Christianity was introduced into Ireland by her patron Saint. The Christian religion had been established in Britain at an early date, and, owing partly to the presence of a Roman army, it made rapid progress. We find also that Agricola, the Roman general in Britain, was well acquainted with this country, for he writes—"The soil, climate, manners, and habits of its people are similar to those of Britain. Its ports are well known to merchants." We read also of Irish invasions of England. For example, in the middle of the third century Cormac MacArt, King of Ireland and founder of Tara, crossed the Channel with an army, and returned victorious with much booty and many captives. Thus the Irish would, at any rate, have become acquainted with the fact of the existence of Christianity.

But, further, there cannot be a heresy, unless there is also a religion from which it springs. Now Pelagius, founder of the heresy called by his name, and against which our Ninth Article is directed, was a Briton. His bosom friend and

supporter was an Irishman named Cœlestius, a lawyer by profession. This man attracted great attention by the energy with which he propagated the tenets of Pelagius on the Continent, and by so doing seems to have directed attention to the country from which he sprang. Accordingly, we read in the Chronicle of Prosper of Aquitaine that in the year 431 A.D. "Palladius was consecrated by Pope Cœlestine, and sent as their first Bishop to the Scots *who believed in Christ.*"

Here we say a word as to the title *Scots.* Whenever the name appears in the history of the first ten centuries, it means an Irishman —a descendant of the Milesians, or Scoti. The Scotland of to-day derives its name from the frequent invasions and immigrations of the Scots, or Irish.

The last proof we shall give that Christianity had made some progress in Ireland before the time of St. Patrick is derived from the Confession of the Saint. In that tract, writing to the Irish people, he says: "I journeyed in every direction for your sakes, even to remote places to which no person had ever come to baptize, or ordain clergymen." The natural

inference from this seems to be that Christian missionaries had visited some of the better-known districts.

Thus we see that the Church of Ireland dates from the earliest ages, and it only needed the energy and power of a St. Patrick to effect that, in the second century from his death, the country should be known as the Isle of Saints.

But we have spoken of Palladius. We saw that in the year 431 A.D. he was sent by Pope Cœlestine as the first Bishop of Ireland. He sailed from Gaul, and landed somewhere in Wicklow. Tradition tells us he founded three churches, and baptized a few converts. He met, however, with such hostility that he fled to England before he had been at work a year. Rome's mission to Ireland had failed. The island was awaiting her great Apostle.

CHAPTER II.

THE LIFE AND TIMES OF ST. PATRICK.

In considering the life and work of St. Patrick, we must be careful, so far as is possible, to separate fact from legend. There are, indeed, many Lives of the Saint, and some of them very ancient; but these are filled with fancies, legends, and miracles, which render them useless for the purposes of history. We have, however, certain works admitted to have been written by the Saint himself. These are "St. Patrick's Confession," "The Letter to Coroticus," and his Hymn, or "Breastplate." The Confession we find among the works contained in the famous Book of Armagh; and the scribe who copied it asserts that he did so from the original work in the Saint's own handwriting. The Epistle to Coroticus is a letter to a British chief, protesting in Christ's name against the barbarities which he had practised on a recent invasion of Ireland.

The two oldest, and therefore the most trustworthy, Lives of St. Patrick, are also in the Book of Armagh, viz.: "Tirechan's Annotations on the Life of St. Patrick," and also a Life written by one Muirchu Maccumactheni, son of Cogitosus. The former writer died 656 A.D., and the latter 670 A.D.

Where was St. Patrick born? As in the case of Homer, many places lay claim to this honour. Some maintain that Scotland was his birthplace; others, Cornwall; others, the North of France; and even "Little Wales" puts in her claim. It seems probable, however, that Scotland has the best right to the honour, and that St. Patrick was born in the neighbourhood of Dumbarton. His father was Calpurnius, a deacon, and his grandfather, Potitus, a priest. When he was sixteen years of age, he was taken prisoner by Irish invaders, carried off to Antrim, and sold as a slave to a native chief named Milchu, who lived near the present village of Broughshane, beside Ballymena. There, on the hill of Slemish, for six weary years, Patrick herded his master's swine. It was a hard and lonely life, yet it proved a blessing to him, and to the country of his

captivity. He tells us in his Confession: "I was brought to Ireland in captivity, along with so many thousands, according to what we deserved for turning astray from God, and not keeping His commandments, and for being disobedient to our priests, who pointed out to us the way of salvation." Patrick had come to Ireland, as he says, "ignorant of the true God," and "destitute of faith in Him." But his misfortunes and his lonely life brought him nearer to the Father; and he writes: "The Lord brought me to a sense of the unbelief of my heart." He soon had recourse to prayer, until, he says, "in a single day I would give utterance to as many as a hundred prayers, and in the night almost as many. I used to remain in the woods, too, and on the mountain, and would rise for prayer before daylight, in the midst of snow, and ice, and rain; and I felt no injury, nor was there any weariness in me, because, as I now see, the Spirit of the Lord was burning within me." After six years of slavery, he escaped from Ireland.

We are not told whence the vessel sailed, nor what was its destination. We have to form our conclusion from the light afforded

by St. Patrick's "Confession." The voyage lasted three days; and after landing they set out on a journey of twenty-eight days through a desert. Reduced almost to starvation, St. Patrick's companions appeal to him to pray to God for help; and, "lo! a herd of swine appeared before our eyes, and we killed many of them, and, halting there two nights, were much refreshed. And the dogs had their fill, for many of them had become exhausted, and were left by the wayside dying." Here we have the key to the problem. The ship in which Patrick escaped was bringing a cargo of the famous Irish wolf-hounds or "Celtic dogs" to the Continent. Sailing up the Loire, he and his companions landed and pursued the rest of their journey on foot. The district they traversed had been devastated, and its inhabitants destroyed by an invasion of the Huns. Hence the term "desert." This brings Patrick into touch with the three places on the Continent with which his name is connected—Arles, Tours, and Auxerre. Whether he received his clerical education and holy orders from Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, or from Martin of Tours, is still open to discussion;

but the latter bishop seems the more probable, especially when we remember the high honour in which he was held by the early Church of Ireland.

We next find him in Britain with his parents. He himself writes: "I was again, after a few years, in Britain with my parents, who entreated me, after having suffered so many tribulations, to go away from them no more. But I saw in the middle of the night a man named Victor, coming, as if from Ireland, with innumerable letters, and one of these he gave to me; and I read the beginning of the letter containing "The Voice of the Irish;" and as I was reading, methought I heard the voice of those who dwell near the wood of Fochlut, which is by the western sea, and they cried, "We entreat thee, holy youth, to come, and walk still among us."

Therefore, trusting in God, St. Patrick went. In the year 432 A.D., according to the date generally received, he landed in Ireland, near where the town of Wicklow stands to-day. This was the year succeeding the unsuccessful attempt of Palladius, the Roman missionary. St. Patrick seems to have fared no better

among the Wicklow people, and he soon embarked again, and proceeded northward until he arrived at Strangford Lough. He landed there, and gained his first convert of note in Dichu, a chieftain of the district. This chief not only became a convert, but also gave St. Patrick a building for a church. It was called "Patrick's Sabhall," or barn, because, in all probability, it had been previously used as such. Accordingly, the parish of Sabhall, or Saul, as it is now called, in the S.-E. of the county of Down, is one of the most venerable in Ireland.

St. Patrick soon pushed farther north, preaching the Gospel as he went, and meeting with great success. His great desire was to reach Milchu, his former master, and to convert him to Christianity. But the latter, hearing of his approach, and believing him to be possessed of magical powers, feared that St. Patrick's object was to make him his slave, and thus retaliate for those six dreary years on Slemish. To avert this fate, Milchu set fire to his house and himself. St. Patrick was, however, able to convert Milchu's brother and his children to Christianity. He then returned to Saul.

His next missionary journey was to Tara, the residence of the High King of Ireland, and also, naturally, the stronghold of Irish Paganism. The National Convention happened to be sitting when he arrived. It was here he is supposed to have used the shamrock leaf in illustration of the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity. Numbers embraced the faith; and King Laoghaire became his friend, if not his convert. Subsequent journeys were made through Connaught, Leinster, and Munster. Converts were everywhere baptized, and churches established.

In the year 445 A.D., St. Patrick founded the Cathedral Church of Armagh, on a site given him by a chieftain named Daire.

The Saint's last years were spent at Saul, where he died, 493 A.D. He is said to have been buried in Downpatrick, where his grave is still shown.

Many questions of interest present themselves in reference to the mission of St. Patrick. In the first place, who sent him to Ireland? We answer, primarily, God the Holy Spirit. The Roman Church claims the Pope's authority for Patrick's mission. It is really a matter of

little importance, as, even were it true, the Church of Ireland had a perfect right, along with the Church of England, to separate from Rome when the latter proved false to the apostolic faith. This the Church of Ireland did, and, in doing so, acted in accordance with her traditions. On the other hand, we shall see that for seven centuries after the time of St. Patrick the Church of Ireland refused to acknowledge the authority of Rome. Moreover, in the genuine writings of the Saint there is not a word about this authority. "The Confession of St. Patrick" (says Dr. Todd, page 310, *Life of St. Patrick*) "contains not a word of a mission from Pope Cœlestine. One object of the writer was to defend himself from the charge of presumption in having undertaken such a work, rude and unlearned as he was. Had he received a regular commission from the See of Rome, that fact alone would have been an unanswerable reply. But he makes no mention of Pope Cœlestine or of Rome, and rests his defence altogether on the Divine call which he believed himself to have received for the work."

For these and other reasons, we conclude

that St. Patrick received from Rome no suggestion or authorization in reference to his Irish mission.

We now come to St. Patrick's teaching. The first point we notice is that it was essentially scriptural. Persons, indeed unwisely, sometimes attempt to prove that St. Patrick was not a Romanist, because he did not teach the worship of the Virgin and other Romish doctrines. This is, of course, an absurd method of argument, as most of the doctrines that are peculiarly Romish were not formulated till centuries after St. Patrick's time. What concerns us is the fact, that as the Church of Ireland does to-day, so in the fifth century St. Patrick taught that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation;" and that his creed, as we read it in his "Confession," is substantially what we confess to-day.

From his teaching we turn to his Church organization. At the outset we are met by the Episcopal question. Let us first see clearly what this means in the present connection. It does not include any question as to the origin of the Christian ministry. We are not called on to argue as to whether

Episcopacy be apostolic or otherwise. In a History of the Church of Ireland we have simply to decide, after a careful examination of the facts, whether the Church in this island, as founded by St. Patrick, was Episcopal or Presbyterian in government. The fact is, that nineteenth-century Presbyterianism differs in many respects from that of the seventeenth. The meeting-house has become a church. In Scotland, especially, a more ornate and artistic ritual is almost universal; witness the services in St. Giles's Cathedral, Edinburgh, and elsewhere. Many are clamouring for a revision of the Westminster Confession; while in America such a revision has actually taken place. Under these circumstances, when many points of difference are quietly passing into oblivion, and on almost all sides a desire for Christian unity and co-operation is expressed, a certain section seems desirous to accentuate differences by exclaiming against "Prelacy," and by asserting the Presbyterian character of the early Irish Church.

Accordingly, a recent historian of the Presbyterian Church, finding that Nennius, 858 A.D., writes that St. Patrick founded 365 churches,

and ordained 365 bishops and 3,000 priests—remarks: "A bishop for a church, and a church for each bishop: this is the polity of Presbyterianism."* But what about the 3,000 priests? As a matter of fact, it is quite uncertain whether this statement of Nennius be literally correct or not. Angus the Culdee, in his Litany, invokes "seven times fifty holy bishops, with the three hundred priests whom Patrick ordained," and quotes the verse—

> "Seven times fifty holy cleric bishops
> The Saint ordained;
> With three hundred pure priests
> Upon whom he conferred orders."

We know the tendency of succeeding ages to magnify the deeds of past heroes; but what these statements do show is that St. Patrick, in common with the Church of his day, recognised the difference between bishops and priests. But, even supposing that Nennius is actually correct in his numbers, what is the state of the case? Simply that in each district St. Patrick founded a mother church,

* Hamilton: *History of the Irish Presbyterian Church*, p. 12.

consecrated a bishop of the district, and ordained on an average nine priests to assist him. In most cases the district was small, and coterminous with the dwelling-place of the sept or clan. In fact, Episcopacy was tribal, and not diocesan. But it is not the diocese which makes a bishop. A bishop even to-day may have no diocese, and yet be a bishop. A diocesan bishop at present possesses two powers—the power of "order," and the power of jurisdiction in his diocese; but these may be separated. A colonial bishop in his diocese exercises both; but if he returns home, and enters upon the duties of a parish at home, he still remains a bishop, but without diocesan authority. On the other hand, he retains his power of "order," and therefore it is as a bishop that he takes part in ordinations.

The fact is that in Ireland Christianity had to adapt itself to the conditions of social life which it found in existence. The people were divided into tribes or septs, which were practically independent of each other. Christianity, therefore, assumed a tribal form. Each tribe had a complete ecclesiastical organization of its own. But this in itself led to a monastic

form of Church work. The clergy were not scattered about in various parishes, but centred in the clan. There soon, then, grew up a spiritual clan within the clan. Some chieftain gave a grant of lands to the Church, and a monastic church and establishment were built, and the head of it was called the coarb, or heir of the original founder. Thus, there were two chieftains in each tribe—the lay chieftain and the spiritual chieftain—and both were hereditary. This condition of things was severely criticised by Continental Churches, and St. Bernard calls it a "scandalous usage." It seems, however, to have been the only thing possible in Ireland at the time.

We next come to the question—What rank had these coarbs? Sometimes they were bishops, sometimes presbyters, and even women have been known to preside over religious communities. But the point which is often omitted is this—that the presbyter abbot or the lay abbot had no power of ordination. Where the coarb was a presbyter, there was a bishop attached to the monastery for the purpose of ordination. We shall see that when Columba desired the office of presbyter, Fin-

nian, abbot of Clonard, sent him for ordination to Etchin, Bishop of Clonfad. The duties of the bishop as bishop were exclusively spiritual, and, unless he happened to be abbot as well, he had no temporal jurisdiction. But, as has been pointed out, this does not interfere with his status as belonging to the highest order of the Christian ministry.

We must now give a very brief sketch of some of the other noteworthy figures in the history of the Church in the time of St. Patrick, and in the days immediately following.

St. Brigid, or Bride, is said to have been born, 453 A.D., at a place called Fochard, two miles north of Dundalk. She was remarkable for piety from early youth, and determined to devote herself to a life of virginity and good works. With a number of companions similarly minded she settled in Leinster, where the town of Kildare (or the Church of the Oak) now stands. Here she laid the foundation of a monastery famous in after-time, and indeed also of the town of Kildare itself.

At the same time we meet with the name of St. Finnian, of Clonard, in Meath. We know little of his personal history, and he is most

remarkable as the founder of the famous seminary at Clonard, where among his pupils he numbered the great Columba.

There was also another famous Finnian at this time, who governed the monastery and church of Moville, near the present town of Newtownards, in Co. Down, and whose name also occurs in connection with Columba.

We must also notice St. Kieran, who founded the Abbey of Clonmacnoise, in Meath; St. Brendan, who founded that of Clonfert; St. Comgall, that of Bangor, in Co. Down; St. Kevin, that of Glendalough; and lastly, St. Canice, who founded the church of Kilkenny—a name which signifies the Church of Kenny, or Canice.

HYMN.*

St. Patrick's Breastplate.

I BIND unto myself to-day
The strong Name of the Trinity,
By invocation of the same,
The Three in One, and One in Three.

I bind this day to me for ever,
By power of faith, Christ's Incarnation;
His baptism in Jordan river;
His death on Cross for my salvation;
His bursting from the spicèd tomb;
His riding up the Heavenly way;
His coming at the day of doom;
I bind unto myself to-day.

I bind unto myself the power
Of the great love of Cherubim;
The sweet "Well done" in judgment hour;
The service of the Seraphim,
Confessors' faith, Apostles' word,
The Patriarchs' prayers, the Prophets' scrolls,
All good deeds done unto the Lord,
And purity of virgin souls.

I bind unto myself to-day
The virtues of the star-lit heaven,
The glorious sun's life-giving ray,
The whiteness of the moon at even,
The flashing of the lightning free,
The whirling wind's tempestuous shocks,
The stable earth, the deep salt sea,
Around the old eternal rocks.

I bind unto myself to-day
The power of God to hold and lead,
His eye to watch, His might to stay,
His ear to hearken to my need.

* By kind permission of the late Mrs. Alexander.

The wisdom of my God to teach,
His hand to guide, His shield to ward;
The word of God to give me speech,
His heavenly host to be my guard.

Against the demon snares of sin,
The vice that gives temptation force,
The natural lusts that war within,
The hostile men that mar my course;
Or few or many, far or nigh,
In every place, and in all hours,
Against their fierce hostility,
I bind to me these holy powers.

Against all Satan's spells and wiles,
Against false words of heresy,
Against the knowledge that defiles,
Against the heart's idolatry,
Against the wizard's evil craft,
Against the death-wound and the burning,
The choking wave, the poisoned shaft,
Protect me, Christ, till Thy returning.

Christ be with me, Christ within me,
Christ behind me, Christ before me,
Christ beside me, Christ to win me,
Christ to comfort and restore me,
Christ beneath me, Christ above me,
Christ in quiet, Christ in danger,
Christ in hearts of all that love me,
Christ in mouth of friend and stranger.

I bind unto myself the Name,
The strong Name of the Trinity;
By invocation of the same,
The Three in One, and One in Three.
Of Whom all nature hath creation;
Eternal Father, Spirit, Word:
Praise to the Lord of my salvation,
Salvation is of Christ the Lord.

C. F. ALEXANDER.

CHAPTER III.

THE MISSIONARY PERIOD.

THE term *Celtic Church* will occur frequently in the following pages: let us explain what it signifies. Everyone knows of the great separation by which Christendom was divided into the Eastern and Western Churches. Everyone knows also how, at the Reformation, the Protestant Churches separated from the Roman, or, as it was then, the Western Church. But it is not so generally known that in Western Europe the Roman or Latin Church had for many centuries a prosperous rival in the Celtic Church. Yet such was actually the case. In fact, using the word in its literal and undogmatic sense, the Celtic was the first Protestant Church.

By the term *Celtic* Church is meant the Church which existed in Great Britain and Ireland (with certain Continental offshoots) before the mission of St. Augustine to England

(596 A.D.), and to a varying extent after that date, until, by absorption or submission, the various parts of it were at different dates incorporated into the Church of the Anglo-Saxons, or other Churches in full communion with Rome.

A very notable feature of this early Celtic Church, and one closely connected with its missionary work, was its monastic character. Of course, in the early centuries, monasticism played an important part throughout the Christian Church. But the first Church in these islands seems to have been so far monastic in form, that the secular or parochial priesthood was at any rate an inconsiderable minority. For example, Bede writes of the Celtic Church at Lindisfarne: "All the priests, deacons, singers, readers, and the rest, together with the bishop himself, observe the monastic rule."

Some idea of the extent of this Celtic Church may be obtained from the enumeration of a few of its more famous monasteries.

In England we have Lindisfarne, Ripon, Whitby, St. Bees, Malmesbury, Glastonbury, &c.

In Wales we have records of fifteen, including Bangor and St. Asaph.

In Scotland the names of fifty-four have been preserved, including Iona and Dunkeld.

In France we have twenty-nine, including Remiremont, Luxeuil, and Strasburg.

There were several in the Netherlands, including Namur and Liége.

In Germany and Switzerland we know of eighteen, including Nuremberg, Mentz, Cologne, Constance, and St. Gall.

While in Italy itself, the stronghold of the Roman Church, there were five—Bobbio, Taranto, Lucca, Faenza, and Fiesole.

Iceland and the Faroe Islands were also christianised by Celtic missionaries.

This list might, of course, be largely extended ; but enough has been said to show the widespread character of the Celtic Church. If, then, we are asked where shall we find the source of its missionary zeal, we answer, Ireland. In fact, St. Bernard compares the Irish missionaries to a flood. He writes : "Those swarms of holy men poured themselves forth into foreign regions like an inundation."

All the great leaders of Celtic missionary

enterprise were of Irish origin—Columba, the apostle of the Picts; Aidan, apostle of Northumbria; Columbanus, apostle of the Burgundians of the Vosges districts of Alsace; St. Gall, apostle of Switzerland; St. Kilian, of Thuringia; and Virgilius, of Carinthia.

This missionary work naturally divides itself into the Irish mission to Scotland, the mission to England, and the missions on the Continent.

Just ninety years after St. Patrick landed as a missionary to Ireland, Columba was born at Gartan, a wild district in Donegal. This was the year 521 A.D. His father belonged to the clan which occupied and gave name to the territory surrounding Gartan; and was, moreover, a member of the reigning families of Ireland and British Dalriada. Irish Dalriada was a district of Antrim, from which the Scots, a few years previously, had sent a colony across the Channel. They settled in the district corresponding to the modern Argyleshire, and called it after their old home. Gradually they became the ruling power in the country, and finally gave their name to Scotland. Columba's mother was of Leinster extraction, and was descended from a provincial king.

There is no doubt that the nobility of Columba's origin stood him in good stead, alike in Ireland and in his missionary work. At his baptism he is said to have received the opposite names of *Crimthann*, or fox, and *Colum*, or dove. To this latter name, from the piety of his early life, the termination *cille* was afterwards added, so that *Columcille* signifies "Dove of the Church."

As he grew to manhood he left his home, and went for instruction to the monastery of Moville, near Newtownards, presided over by St. Finnian. Here he remained some time, and was admitted to holy orders as a deacon. Leaving Moville, he journeyed into Leinster, and sought instruction from Gemman, an aged bard; for Columba was a poet. Thence he went to the school of the great St. Finnian, at Clonard, in Meath. This Clonard was situated near the source of the Boyne. The school was resorted to not merely by pupils from Ireland, but from England and the Continent. As many as three thousand are said to have sought instruction there in one year. After some years of training in this seminary, Columba was admitted to the priesthood.

The manner in which this was done throws light upon the early government of the Church of Ireland, and establishes its Episcopal form. The monasteries were governed by abbots, who were sometimes bishops, but more generally presbyters. Now, this fact has been alleged to prove that the government of the early Church was Presbyterian. But the fact remains, that when the abbot was not a bishop, there was a bishop always connected with the monastery for the purpose of ordination and other Episcopal functions. In the present case, Finnian was only a Presbyter. Accordingly, he did not ordain Columba himself, but sent him to Etchin, Bishop of Clonfad, for this purpose. We have therefore to distinguish between the Presbyteral government of the monasteries and the Episcopal government of the Church.

Columba now entered upon active work. At times impetuous, passionate, and even violent, he was always terribly in earnest. For many years he did good work in Ireland. In 546 A.D. he founded Derry, a place for which he had always the greatest affection.

Witness the following lines, on good grounds attributed to the Saint :—

"Were all the tribute of Scotia mine,
From its midland to its borders,
I would give them all for my one little cell
In my beautiful Derry.

"For its quietness and its purity,
For Heaven's angels that come and go
Under every leaf of the oaks,
I love my beautiful Derry.

"Beloved are Sôrds and Kells,
But sweeter and fairer to me
The salt sea where the sea-mews cry,
When I come to Derry from afar."

In 553 A.D. he founded Durrow, in King's County. In the churchyard at Kells there is still shown a small stone-roofed building, known as St. Columcille's house. He is said in all to have founded in Ireland three hundred churches ; but such statements must be received with the greatest caution. So passed the first half of Columba's life.

There is a curious and well-known story connected with Columba's departure on missionary work. In all probability there is a substratum of truth in it, as regards its leading circumstances ; but there is little likelihood that

they were the cause of the Saint's missionary life. We have spoken of St. Finnian of Moville. The story goes that, as Columba was travelling through Ireland, he went to see his old master. He borrowed from him a Latin Psalter, which he set about copying. On discovering this, St. Finnian was exceedingly annoyed, and demanded both the original and the copy. This Columba refused. The case was then referred to Diarmait, King of Meath, who gave the simple, if not logical, decision, "*Le gach boin a boinin, agus le gach leabhar a leabhran*"—"To every cow its calf belongs, likewise to every book its copy" (*lit.*, "son-book"). Columba was by nature fierce and passionate. He saw the injustice of the decision, and summoned the men of his tribe to his assistance. The dispute ended in a battle fought at Cuildremne, a place somewhat to the north of Sligo, in which Columba's Ulstermen won the day, and three thousand of the men of Meath were slain. The only result of this, as regards Columba, was that he was excommunicated by the Church. He is then said to have gone for advice to Molassius, the abbot of Innismurray, an island off the

coast of Sligo, who advised him to submit; and at the same time, because Columba had caused much blood to be shed, prescribed a penance. Columba was to leave Ireland. He must go to the land of the Picts, and endeavour to convert them to Christianity.

Such is the account of Columba's departure, as given in later times. But Adamnan, his earliest biographer, knows nothing of it. He simply writes: "Columba resolved to seek a foreign country for the love of Christ." Ireland is but a small place; and zeal such as Columba's would naturally seek a wider outlet. Moreover, Connal, King of British Dalriada, was his cousin, and is said to have assigned him the island of Hy, or Iona, as a suitable place from which to prosecute his work northward and eastward.

Accordingly, in 563 A.D., Columba and his companions sailed for Scotland. He first made Iona into a Christian colony. It is very important to remember that this was really the character of Celtic monasteries. They were that first in Ireland. Converts to Christianity, after being tonsured, were introduced to them under the name of monks. There

thus, as it has been pointed out, arose in each Irish tribe a Christian community, to which the people were readily drawn. These persons found themselves possessed of special advantages and privileges, while their social position with reference to their tribe and to the land was not essentially altered. When, therefore, the leader of an Irish missionary enterprise had reached the country of his destination, his first object would be to obtain a grant of land suitably situated, where he might found one of these primitive Celtic monasteries. Let us try to picture its appearance. We must first dismiss from our minds all ideas of the great stone structures which the name "monastery" suggests in later times. In the first place, the monks enclosed the selected ground with a cashel or rampart, generally made of earth. In the centre they built a small chapel, generally of wood or wattles. At one side of the enclosure they placed their own huts, usually made of wattles, and shaped something like large bee-hives. The abbot's hut was usually at a little distance from the rest. The other buildings would comprise a mill, a barn, and a common eating-room, called a refectory.

Here we would note that if anyone goes on board the *Columba*, at Glasgow, in order to reach Oban, whence steamers ply every day in the summer to Staffa and Iona, and if he fancies that, by making an excursion of a day, accompanied by a crowd of tourists, he will see any traces of Columba, he will find himself mistaken. The guide will hurry him over a few grey ruins, the remnants of mediaeval days, and show him a few tombstones; the children will press him to buy a few pebbles as "specimens"! and then he will be hurried off to the steamer, without having seen a single trace of Columba. To see these the traveller must remain a day or two on the island. Let him ascend a small green hillock in its centre, in the midst of a small and fertile plain. North of this plain he will see a tract of wild ground, culminating in the highest hill in the island, called Dunii. On the northern shore lies a low district, ending in a stretch of white sand, that once was reddened by the blood of monks cruelly slain by the Danes. Along the eastern shore, and north of existing ruins, there is a low tract of fertile ground sloping gently to the sea. Through the midst of it there flows

a stream, which rises in some marshy ground which extends to the foot of Dunii. Here Columba placed his village. The stream turned his small mill. Near it was the kiln for drying the grain, and the barn for storing it. Between the kiln and the marsh may be traced the outline of the cashel, or rampart. The whole thing was thoroughly organized. The little colony contained within itself resources for all its needs. Doctrine and practice went hand in hand. Iona was a Christian community, affording a picture to the natives of what Christianity was, and what Christian civilization meant. Gradually, bit by bit, the surrounding country was christianised, and not till then did Columba feel strong enough to strike a decisive blow at the Pictish capital, even the royal residence of King Brude, near the modern Inverness.

Before starting on this journey, Columba sent to Ireland for St. Comgall, of Bangor, and St. Canice, of Kilkenny, to come and help him. Together they penetrated the windings of that long line of lochs and rivers which now go to form the Caledonian Canal. In later days many marvellous stories were told of the

manner of Columba's struggle with Paganism at the Court of King Brude; but one fact remains, that his success was certain, and its results permanent. He spent in all nine years in the North of Scotland, evangelizing and organizing.

On at least two occasions Columba returned to Ireland, thus disproving the story of his perpetual banishment. So the years passed by in busy toil in preaching, teaching, and translating the Scriptures. The story of his death is well known. It was Saturday, June 8th, 597 A.D., when he told his attendant Diarmait that his end was near. "This day," he said, "in Holy Scripture is called the Sabbath, which meaneth 'rest;' and this day is indeed a Sabbath to me, for it is the last of my present laborious life, and on it I rest after the fatigues of my labours; and this night at midnight, when the solemn Lord's Day commenceth, I shall, according to the solemn saying of the Scripture, 'go the way of my fathers.'"

He then went on with his work of copying the Psalms, and when he came to Ps. xxxiv. 10: "They that seek the Lord shall not want

any manner of thing that is good," he said, "Here at the end of the page I must stop, and what follows let Baithene write." This Baithene was the Saint's cousin and successor. He then went to the little church for evening service, and, returning, lay down in his hut to rest, as Adamnan says, "having the bare flag for a couch, and for his pillow a stone." But when, at midnight, the bell rang for the early service on Sunday morning, the Saint rose hastily and went to the church, and "knelt down in prayer beside the altar." When the others came, they found him speechless; but "Columba opened his eyes, and turned on the brethren a look full of serene and radiant joy. He raised his hand to bless them, and so passed away, with a face calm and sweet, like that of a man who, in his sleep, has seen a vision of heaven; while all the church resounded with loud lamentations of grief."

And Columba's monument? A country christianised, because an Irishman in old time was terribly in earnest for his God.

CHAPTER IV.

MISSIONARY WORK IN ENGLAND AND ON THE CONTINENT.

WE must now turn to Irish missionary work in England and on the Continent of Europe. Columba's work ends not with Scotland. All that Iona did in after days must be traced back to him. In the year 635 A.D., Oswald, King of Northumbria, who had himself been converted to Christianity during an exile of seventeen years in Ireland, sent to the Irish monastery at Iona to know whether any monk would be willing to come and instruct his subjects in Christianity. This he did, because, with the death of King Edwin, the labours of Paulinus had come to nought, and he, with Queen Edilburga, had returned to Kent. In response to this request, a monk, named Gorman, was sent to Northumbria. His mission was unsuccessful. On his return to Iona, an inquiry was held as to the cause of his failure.

His return had excited much wonder. Columba's followers were not accustomed to failure. Gorman attributed his want of success entirely to the barbarism of the English. "It is of no use," he told the assembled monks, "to attempt to convert such people as they are." After hearing his evidence, one of the monks present, whose name was Aidan, said to Gorman: "I fear the fault is yours. You did not, after apostolic precept, first offer them the milk of more gentle doctrine, till by degrees, through the nourishment of God's Word, they might have strength to receive and practise God's more perfect counsel." The monks very naturally came to the conclusion that one who could give such excellent advice would himself make an admirable missionary; and accordingly Aidan was consecrated bishop, 635 A.D., and sent to Northumbria.

He did not, as might have been expected, fix his residence at York. He brought with him to England the memory of his island home, and selected Lindisfarne, afterwards called Holy Island, as his headquarters. Bede describes his house as "twice a day conti-

guous to the mainland of Northumbria, and twice a day like an island enclosed in the sea, according to the ebb and flow of the tide." Here he founded a monastery after the pattern of Iona. Fellow-workers flocked to him from Iona and Ireland, and he soon also formed a school for training the children of the English. Personally, Aidan seems to have had great difficulty in learning the English tongue of that day, and throughout his life seems to have needed an interpreter when preaching. We gather from Bede that it was his saintly character, and the gentleness and purity of his life, which had such weight with the English. He gives a beautiful picture of Aidan's character. "He left his clergy a most wholesome example of abstinence and continence, and the highest commendation of his teaching was that his own life corresponded with it." As Chaucer says of another—

> "Christes lore, and His Apostles twelve,
> He taughte, but first he folwede it himselve."

In all his work Aidan was ably assisted by King Oswald, who often acted as his interpreter. As Bede says again: "When the Bishop, who was not skilful in the English

tongue, preached the Gospel, it was most delightful to see the king himself interpreting the Word of God to his commanders and ministers, for he had perfectly learned the language of the Scots [Irish] during his long captivity." Aidan's work soon bore fruit. "Churches," we read, "were built in various places, and the people flocked together with joy to hear the Word of God."

But trouble came to Aidan. King Oswald was killed in battle, 642 A.D. After his death his kingdom was divided. His brother Oswy, who was a heathen, succeeded to Bernicia. Fortunately for Aidan and his work, Oswin, who was a Christian, and of the old royal family of Deira, succeeded to that kingdom. Oswin immediately took Oswald's place as protector of the Christians, and the helper of all missionary work. But, alas, in the year 651 A.D. Oswin was murdered by Oswy, and Aidan survived him for only twelve days. He was staying near Bamborough, from which he often made preaching circuits. He was there seized with an illness, so sudden and violent, that he could not be taken to his own bedroom, but was laid on the ground, and an

awning stretched over him from the church's western door. Here he breathed his last on the 31st August, 651 A.D. He was succeeded by Finan, who was also a monk from Iona.

The only fault which Bede can find with Aidan is that he refused to adopt the Roman method of calculating Easter, and firmly adhered to the "erroneous observances" of the Church of Ireland. Whether Aidan was right or wrong in these points is not of much importance. What is of importance is the fact that the Church of Ireland then, as now, claimed to be perfectly independent of the Bishop of Rome, or of any other foreign ecclesiastical authority. Perhaps it might be well here to say a few words about this famous Easter controversy. In earlier times it had been styled the *Quartodeciman*. The question was briefly this—Should Easter be always celebrated on Sunday, or on the day following the Jewish Passover, no matter what day of the week it might happen to fall on? At the Council of Nicæa, 325 A.D., it was decided that Easter was to be celebrated on the Lord's Day, and such has ever since been the custom of the Church. But soon a new difficulty

arose. There were different cycles invented for calculating on what Sunday in each year Easter should be kept. St. Patrick had introduced into Ireland the old cycle of eighty-four years. This was naturally used universally throughout the Celtic Church. This method of calculation was, however, found to be defective. Accordingly, a new cycle was adopted by the Italian Church, 463 A.D. But the Church of Ireland, not acknowledging the authority of Rome, refused to adopt the new cycle. So fiercely did the controversy rage throughout the sixth and seventh centuries, that Irish bishops were known to refuse to break bread or to remain in the house with those of the Roman party.

We have now seen how Northern and Western Scotland were christianised by Columba, and the country from the Humber to the Tweed brought to Christ by the labours of Aidan. Let us turn to the Continent.

In the year 543 A.D., Columbanus was born in Ireland. He was first educated in a small monastery on one of the islands in Lough Erne. He afterwards spent many years in that of Bangor, in Co. Down. In fact, like

Columba, Columbanus did not start on his missionary work till he was more than forty years of age. But in 585 A.D., Columbanus, finding insufficient scope for his energies in Bangor, set sail for France with twelve companions. We shall now see Irish missionaries at work amid new surroundings. Hitherto we have watched them in conflict with heathendom; now we follow them to battle against a corrupted and debased Christianity. The France of the end of the sixth and seventh centuries was very different from that of the earliest days, when Patrick studied theology with Germanus, and Hilary flourished at Poitiers. Milman in his *Latin Christianity* writes: "It is difficult to conceive a more dark and odious state of society than that of France under her Merovingian kings. In the conflict of the coalition of barbarism with Christianity, barbarism introduced into Christianity all its ferocity, with none of its generosity or magnanimity. That King Clotaire should burn alive his rebellious son, with his wife and daughter, is fearful enough; but we are astounded, even in those times, with a Bishop of Tours burning a man alive to obtain

the deeds of an estate which he coveted. Fredegonde sends two murderers to assassinate Childebert, and these assassins are clergymen. Christianity hardly interfered to interdict incest." It was into such a world as this that Columbanus and his heroic followers threw themselves.

They were thirteen in number. Their outward appearance was strange and striking. They were clothed in garments of coarse texture, made of wool, and of the natural colour of the material. Under this was a white tunic. They were also tonsured in a manner different from Gaulish ecclesiastics. They had each a pilgrim's staff, a leathern water-bottle, and a wallet. When asked who they were, and whence they came, they replied: "We are Irish, dwelling at the very ends of the earth. We be men who receive nought but the doctrines of the Evangelists and Apostles." Their leader also gave the following account of himself: "I am an Irish pilgrim, and my speech and action correspond to my name, which is in Hebrew, *Jonah;* in Greek, *Peristera;* and in Latin, *Columba*, a Dove." This almost seems an instance of

self-deception as to a man's real character. There was more of the lion than the dove in Columbanus.

After traversing the greater part of France, he arrived in Burgundy, where he was favourably received by King Gontran, the only one of the grandsons of Clovis for whom a good word can be said. The monarch offered him, for a dwelling-place, the ancient Roman Castle of Annegray. Here the first Irish monastery was established on the Continent. After a few years Annegray proved too small for the growing community, and Columbanus obtained from Gontran a grant of the ancient fortress of Luxovium, where he founded his famous monastery of Luxeuil, 590 A.D. It was then he drew up his well-known monastic rules, which are remarkable for their great severity. Their first principle is obedience to authority, absolute and unreserved; their second is constant and severe labour, for the purpose both of subduing the flesh, and also of affording to the natives an example of industry. The slightest breach of the regulations was visited with corporal punishment or severe fasting.

Gradually difficulties arose between the bishops of the country and Columbanus. These are to be traced to two sources—first, to Columbanus' severe reproofs of much of their conduct; and, secondly—though this was the only reason alleged by the Roman ecclesiastics—to the fact that Columbanus adhered to the usages of the Celtic Church, and refused to submit to Roman authority. What attitude Columbanus adopted towards the Popes may be clearly seen by a letter from him to Pope Gregory the Great. In the course of this epistle he makes use of the expression, "A living dog is better than a dead lion." The "dead lion" referred to one of Gregory's predecessors named Leo, and the "living dog" was Gregory himself.

But the struggle with the ecclesiastics soon passed into insignificance in comparison with the conflict Columbanus was called upon to wage with the royal family. Gontran had died, and had been succeeded by Childebert. The latter's reign was of short duration, and at his death his children were still minors. Brynhild, their grandmother, seized the power, and, in order to retain it, encouraged her

grandchildren in every vice. In this she was vigorously opposed by Columbanus, who finally, finding all milder efforts useless, threatened to excommunicate them. They rose against him in wrath, and Columbanus was banished to his native land. It would seem, however, that, their vessel meeting with contrary winds, the captain looked upon Columbanus as a veritable Jonah, and got rid of him by landing him in Neustria. In a little while we find him in Switzerland, at Zurich. Here his Celtic impetuosity embroiled him with the natives. Not satisfied with preaching Christianity, he and his followers overthrew the native temples and idols. Columbanus had to fly, but he left Gallus, one of his companions, behind him to continue his work; and a canton in Switzerland is still called St. Gall, from the fact that an Irishman of that name converted the people to Christianity. Later, we find Columbanus at Milan, where he was favourably received by King Agilulf, who assigned him a district between Milan and Genoa, where he founded his famous monastery of Bobbio, which was long a stronghold of the Christian faith. Colum-

banus died in the year 615 A.D., having lived for a year as a hermit on the opposite shore of Trebbia.

Even we in modern times owe much to the Celtic monasteries of Columbanus, which Montalembert calls the "nurseries of bishops and of saints." Not to speak of the preservation of many classical manuscripts, we owe the famous Muratorian Fragment to the monastery of Bobbio.

The Celtic Church had now reached its zenith of extent and influence. The question is asked—Why its rapid decay, and absorption by the Latin Church? It is sometimes asserted that the extreme severity of its monastic rules told heavily against it when the first enthusiasm had died away. The "Rule of Benedict" in the Latin Church made more allowance for human weakness. This may be; but anyone, calmly calculating the different forces at work, can see clearly that the Celtic Church would have had in time to yield to the territorial and political power of Rome. Fifty years after the death of Columbanus, the Celtic monasteries in Italy succumbed to the Pope; and just at the same

time Celtic Christianity in England received its great defeat at the Synod of Whitby, 664 A.D. Moreover, the Church of Ireland could no longer afford to send her sons into foreign lands as standard-bearers of the Cross. She had entered at home upon a struggle for her very existence—a struggle that found its close when, after the English invasion, she was absorbed for a time into the Church of Rome.

How little do many modern Irish Churchmen know of the great deeds of these early brethren!—men whose lives, like other human lives, were imperfect, but yet were filled with the one desire to spread God's Gospel on the earth. Yet once Ireland was called the "Isle of Saints." Once from all lands they came to seek for training and instruction in her schools; while from her midst went forth the bravest messengers of Jesus.

CHAPTER V.

THE DANISH KINGDOM.

WE now come to the time when a new influence was brought to bear upon Ireland, and also upon its religion. You see somewhere in the country one of those tumuli, or mounds, which are so commonly found throughout Ireland. You ask its origin. Any peasant will give you the correct but vague answer—"The Danes." Who were they? Let us turn to the continent of Europe. During the seventh and eighth centuries the Franks had suffered much from Saxon raids. Accordingly, in 772 A.D., Charlemagne invaded Saxony, and conquered the country. He then commenced to force Christianity upon the people. The Saxons revolted again and again, but finally, 782 A.D., Witikind, the Saxon chieftain, fled northwards to Denmark, where Sigefroi, his wife's father, was king. Charlemagne, enraged by these constant revolts, and by the escape

of Witikind, put to death 4,500 Saxon captives who refused to embrace Christianity. He also issued a decree that "every Saxon who refused to be baptized should be punished by death." Great numbers therefore fled to Denmark, burning with rage against their Christian persecutors. "They that take the sword shall perish with the sword," said the Master; and to these actions of Charlemagne, who had little realized the principles of the religion which he desired to spread, must be traced that deadly hostility and desire for revenge, exhibited by the Danes against the Christians, which for so many years caused them to be the scourge of Great Britain and France.

The first Danish ships appeared off England 787 A.D., but they did not reach Ireland till 795 A.D. For many years their only aim was plunder, and, as might be expected, the churches, monasteries, and shrines were the chief objects of their wrath.

In 815 A.D., however, Turgesius, a Norwegian chieftain, landed in Ireland with the design of effecting a settlement. He divided his fleet into three parts. One division, entering by the mouth of the Bann, took up its

position in Lough Neagh; another anchored in the Bay of Dundalk; while the third, sailing up the Shannon, occupied Lough Ree. The whole country was thus virtually at their mercy. As usual, the Irish were too busy fighting with each other, and too jealous of each other's power and possessions, to combine against a common foe. The Danes sacked and ravaged almost all the religious establishments throughout the land, and tortured and killed great numbers of the inhabitants. For example, Armagh was attacked three times in one month. Finally, Christianity was banished from its cathedral, and pagan sacrifices were offered there; while at Clonmacnoise, Ota, the wife of Turgesius, amid the smoke of human sacrifices, delivered her oracles in the great church.

Up to this period we have heard nothing of Dublin. Why so? Simply because it was not in existence. All the stories, therefore, of its grandeur in the time of St. Patrick, and of the cathedral which he built, are merely the inventions of a later age. But from the earliest times we do read of Ath-cliath, or "the ford of hurdles," which crossed the Liffey

where the road from Tara passed southwards into Wicklow. Such bridges were formed of stakes fastened firmly together, with rough basket-work between, and overlaid with earth and brushwood, thus forming a long hurdle, which stretched from one bank of the river to the other. It is, of course, probable that from the earliest times a few huts would be found in the neighbourhood of such a bridge; but the city of Dublin dates from the time of Turgesius. The Northmen called their city *Dyflin*—a corruption of *Dubhlinn*, or "The Black Pool," so called from the darkness of the water of the river. Dublin soon rose to importance—first, as the capital of the Danish kingdom in Ireland; and secondly, as the capital of the English Pale. Indeed, the two districts closely corresponded with each other, and with the modern Diocese of Dublin.

The story of the wars between the Danes and Irish is one to be told rather by the secular than the ecclesiastical historian. Moreover, our space would not permit us to tell of the gradual rise of the Kingdom of Munster; nor how "Malachy wore the collar of gold;" nor how, like Alfred in England, Brian Boru

lived for many years an outlaw's life, till he regained the kingdom of his ancestors, and, gradually extending his power over Ireland, ruled well and wisely for many years; nor how the Danes made their final effort for conquest, to be overthrown in the decisive battle of Clontarf, fought on Good Friday, April 23rd, 1014 A.D.—a victory for the Irish which cost them the life of their great king. But in spite of this defeat, the Danes remained in Ireland, in their kingdom of Dublin, and holding also the strongholds of Limerick and Waterford.

The Danes, we have seen, were Pagans. Their greatest god was Odin, god of battles; called also Valfadar, or "the choosing father," because he was supposed to send messengers to every battle-field to select the bravest of the slain to be his companions in the halls of Valhalla. They worshipped also Thor, who clove the icebergs with his hammer; and Balder the Beautiful, whose deadly enemy was Loki, the spirit of evil. However, after a hundred years had passed from their first landing in Ireland, Christianity began to gain ground amongst them. In 925 A.D., Sitric,

Danish King of Dublin, was baptized in England, and married King Athelstan's sister. On his return to Dublin, he abjured Christianity, abandoned his wife, and died a Pagan. But his son Anlaf Cuaran was in 943 A.D. baptized in England, and the other members of his family soon followed his example. From this time we find the Danish kingdom in close connection with England and the English Church, which was at this time in communion with Rome. When Anlaf returned to Dublin, he brought with him Anglo-Saxon monks, who set about converting the Irish Danes. This was slow work. The See of Dublin was not founded for another hundred years, 1040 A.D. Sitric, the then Danish king, had made a pilgrimage to Rome, and this more firmly cemented the connection between the Danish Christians and Rome and England. On his return he had a bishop, named Donatus, consecrated in England as Bishop of Dublin. It is to this Donatus and to Sitric that we are indebted for Christ Church Cathedral, in the city of Dublin. Shortly afterwards we find Christian bishops in the Danish cities of Waterford and Limerick. These, however, were also in com-

munion with Rome, and held no intercourse with the Irish clergy. Thus we see it was the Danish kingdom of Dublin which first acknowledged the supremacy of Rome, and, by its close intercourse with England, paved the way for the conquest of Ireland under Henry II.

The first papal legate in Ireland was Gille, or Gillebert, who was also the first bishop of the Danish city of Limerick. This man, clever and energetic, may be considered as the author of the plan to bring Ireland under the Roman See. He seems to have gained over to his views Celsus, the Archbishop of Armagh—so much so, that when the latter was anxious to re-organize the Irish Church, he permitted Gillebert, as papal legate, to preside at the Synod of Rathbreasil, 1118 A.D. Let us see what were the objects of this synod. There were present at it the Archbishops of Armagh and Cashel, and a large number of bishops, clergy, and laity. The chief object of the synod was to divide Ireland into dioceses. Up to this time the Irish bishops were, as we have seen, rather tribal than diocesan. But it is sometimes overlooked, in the Episcopal controversy, that it is the office of a bishop with which we are concerned, and

not whether he was diocesan or otherwise. A bishop who has a large diocese is not more a bishop than he who has a very small one; and what has been shown in the previous part of this sketch is, that the three orders, bishops, priests, and deacons, existed in the Church of Ireland from the very first. It was decreed at this synod that there should be twenty-four dioceses, exclusive of Dublin, which, as heretofore, was to be left in connection with the English Church and the See of Canterbury. Twelve of these were to be in the North of Ireland, and subject to the Archbishop of Armagh; and twelve in the South, subject to the Archbishop of Cashel. These arrangements, however, could not be carried out.

The state of the country at this time was miserable in the extreme. The incursions of the Danes had led to a habit of reprisals, and aroused all the worst qualities in the natures of the Irish chieftains. The habit of attacking the Danes increased their natural tendency to fight with each other; and at this time in Ireland every man's hand was against his brother. They did not even spare the churches in their raids for plunder.

Now, Gillebert had been strongly supported in his views by the famous Malachy, Bishop of Down, and afterwards Archbishop of Armagh. Gross corruptions had, no doubt, grown up in the Church of Ireland. The chief benefices and bishoprics were in the hands of the ruling families, who appointed their own friends, irrespective of their character or suitability for the office. Under these circumstances, and since reformation now seemed impossible from within, Malachy and others, who had seen the great organization of the Latin Church upon the Continent, naturally looked to Rome as their only hope. Malachy was appointed papal legate in Ireland, 1139 A.D. His next aim was to get palls from Rome for the Irish Archbishops. The Pope, however, answered: "You must summon together the bishops, clergy, and nobles of your land, and hold a council of them. If you can then, with the consent and common desire of all, send over for the palls by respectable agents, they shall be given you." Evidently the Irishmen were not at all unanimous on this point, as we hear no more of the question till after the death of Malachy, 1148 A.D.

The authorities of the Latin Church had evidently expected a unanimous consent, and eager request for these palls. As, however, it did not seem to be forthcoming, Cardinal Paparo was sent over by Pope Eugene, 1151 A.D., with four palls, and authority to establish four archbishoprics, viz.: Armagh, Cashel, Dublin, and Tuam. On 9th March, 1152 A.D., a synod was held at Kells, at which Paparo presided. The authority of Rome was generally acknowledged by those present. Ireland was divided into four archbishoprics, whose holders were to be in allegiance to Rome. The other dioceses were arranged, and their number reduced by an order that many of the smaller ones were to be suppressed on the death of the present occupants. These suppressed sees were the origin of the rural deaneries, which still exist.

Thus, after seven centuries of independence, the Church of Ireland came, at any rate nominally, under the authority of Rome.

It is to be noted that during this period the title of the Church was *The Irish Church*, or *The Church of Ireland;* and it is so styled in *The Book of Armagh.*

CHAPTER VI.

THE ENGLISH INVASION.

THE story of the English Invasion has been told in every Irish and English History; yet its results were so far-reaching and so momentous, if not always beneficent, to the Church of Ireland, that the main facts must be briefly narrated.

On December 3rd, 1154 A.D., Nicholas Breakspear was made Pope under the title of Adrian IV. This is the only instance in which an Englishman has held this high office. He had been a pupil of Marianus, a monk of the Irish monastery at Ratisbon.

In 1154 A.D. also, Henry II ascended the throne of England, and seems to have formed the idea of adding Ireland to his dominions. Moreover, he and the Pope were on friendly terms, while the latter, from his Irish training, naturally had some interest in that island. Henry accordingly applied to Adrian to

sanction his enterprise, and promised a tribute to Rome of one penny a-year from each house in the conquered territory. The Pope, in reply, sent a "bull" authorizing the conquest, and claiming the right to do so, because the Emperor Constantine, 325 A.D., had granted to the then Pope and his successors all the islands of the Roman Empire. It is now acknowledged that this document, called the "Grant of Constantine," was a forgery.

Henry accordingly summoned a parliament at Winchester, 1155 A.D., to consider the question. But we read: "Because the thing was opposed to the wishes of his mother, the Empress Matilda, the expedition was put off."

The invitation came finally from Ireland itself. Let us briefly examine its causes. Ireland at the time was divided into five provincial kingdoms—Ulster, Leinster, Meath, Munster, and Connaught. The sovereign of one of these provinces was chosen supreme king, and received tribute from the others. Now, at this time Tiernan O'Ruarc, or O'Rorke, was Prince of Breffny, Dermot M'Murrogh was King of Leinster, and O'Connor was High

King of Ireland. With these three names the story of the English invasion is connected. Dermot M'Murrogh carried off Devorgilla, wife of O'Ruarc of Breffny. O'Ruarc, less powerful than M'Murrogh, appealed to O'Connor for assistance. Their united forces overcame M'Murrogh, and he was obliged to fly. He then applied to Henry II of England for assistance. Henry was at the time in Aquitaine, and busy with those Continental affairs which for so long occupied English sovereigns rather than the welfare of England. He, however, gave Dermot letters, authorizing his English subjects to aid him in his attempt to recover the throne. In response to Dermot's appeal, Richard de Clare, Earl of Pembroke, surnamed Strongbow, and two Welsh knights, Robert Fitz-Stephen and Maurice FitzGerald, agreed to help him. Wexford, Waterford, and Dublin were soon taken. Of course, the wild Irish "kerns and gallowglasses," clad in tunics of saffron dye, were no match for the armoured infantry and cavalry of the English.

Dermot accordingly was restored to his kingdom, and gave his daughter Eva in marriage to Strongbow, who, on Dermot's

death, 1170 A.D., succeeded to his kingdom. Henry II now became jealous of his success, and ordered him to return to England. He managed to appease the King, who came over to Ireland with a large army, and received the nominal submission of the greater part of the country, 1172 A.D. O'Connor, the High King, and a few of the Ulster chiefs, alone held out. Henry, however, content with what he had gained, let them alone, and proceeded to organize his new territory. He divided it into counties, and set up in Dublin courts of law upon English models. He also made large grants of territory to his English subjects; but, as a rule, they had to struggle for their possession by force of arms.

Shortly after Henry's departure, a synod of the Church was held at Cashel. Its object was to correct abuses which existed, and especially to bring the Church of Ireland into conformity with that of England. The following are some of its most important provisions:—

1. "That the faithful throughout Ireland, desisting from connection with their near relatives, either by kindred or affinity, shall contract and observe lawful marriages."

2. "That Baptism shall be administered in a more regular way, and in churches."

3. "That tithes of cattle and crops are to be paid to the Church in each parish."

4. "That on the approach of death, the dying man shall make a will, in the presence of his confessor, by which he divides his movable property into three parts, of which one part is left to his children, one to his wife, and one to the Church to perform his obsequies."

5. "That Church property is to be free from taxation."

6. "That all spiritual matters in Ireland shall for the future be regulated according to the discipline of the English Church."

These were the most important provisions. With reference to Rule 4, it is to be noted that it refers only to movable property. The old Irish land laws were still in existence, and were very curious. The people, as we have seen, were divided into septs or tribes, under their respective chiefs. When a landowner died, his property was not divided among his children, but the chief of the sept or clan made, or was entitled to make, a fresh division of all the lands within his district, and the

dead man's heirs received a share of the general property along with the rest. Such an arrangement naturally prevented any great improvement of the soil, and also afforded the Irish opportunities for indulging their propensity for quarrelling.

The reader will see that the real objects which seem to have been before the minds of the members of this synod were—

1. The enriching of the Church.

2. The union of the Church of Ireland with that of England, and therefore with Rome.

With regard to the first of these, it is to be noticed that, previous to the English invasion, the temporal power of the priesthood in Ireland had been small. The prince of the sept was as much the master of the priesthood as of any other class. The hierarchy in Ireland, accordingly, gladly made terms with the English, whose alliance opened up to them a vision of new power.

In regard to the second of the above objects, there is a curious and interesting letter from Pope Alexander III to Henry II, which was preserved in the *Liber Niger Saccarii*, or "Black Book of the Exchequer

of England, belonging to the office of King's Remembrancer," and copied thence for Archbishop Ussher, and still to be seen, superscribed in his handwriting, among the manuscripts in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin. This letter is a complete acknowledgment, on the part of the Pope, of the previous independence of the Church of Ireland. It contains the following remarkable passage:—"And as your Highness's Excellency is aware that the Roman Church has by right an authority over islands different from what she possesses over the mainland and Continent; and having, therefore, such a confident hope in the fervour of your devotion, as to believe it would be your desire, not only to conserve, but also to extend, the principles of the said Church, *and to establish her jurisdiction, as you are in duty bound, where she has none at present;* we ask and earnestly urge your Highness to study diligently to preserve to us in the aforesaid land [Ireland] the right of St. Peter; *and even if the said Church have no jurisdiction there, that your Highness should assign and appoint it for her.*"

This work in Ireland was greatly assisted by the introduction of Continental orders of monks. Many of the ancient Irish monasteries had ceased to exist. Some had been burnt and plundered by the Danes, and not restored. Others had been destroyed in more recent quarrels among the Irish themselves. Moreover, as we have seen, the Irish clergy had always been opposed to the authority of Rome. Accordingly, we now find new orders introduced. The first instance occurred during the primacy of Malachy, when, 1142 A.D., he established a monastery of Cistercian monks at Drogheda. Others soon followed, especially Austins and Benedictines. The English settlers vied with each other in raising these structures. In fact, to found an abbey seems to have been considered the surest way to atone for past sins and enormities. In the North of Ireland, John de Courcy was especially distinguished for zeal in this respect. In 1180 A.D. he founded the Cistercian monastery at Inch, to atone for having destroyed another one in the same locality. In the same year he founded the Benedictine establishment called the "Black Priory of St. Andrew and

Stokes," in the Ardes district. In 1183 A.D. he founded another on the island of Neddrum. Africa, his wife, shared his zeal. In 1193 A.D. she founded the beautiful Cistercian monastery known as the "Grey Abbey," on Strangford Lough. Thus was commenced that close intercourse between Ireland and the Continent which lasted for so many centuries, and affected not merely the ecclesiastical but the political history of the country.

Was it not the irony of fate that it should have been Henry II and the English who riveted the Papal yoke upon the Irish?

CHAPTER VII.

THE ROMAN SUPREMACY.

We now enter upon a new period in the history of the Church of Ireland. It lasted for 364 years, from the Synod of Cashel, 1172 A.D., to 1536 A.D., when the Irish Parliament abolished the supremacy of the Pope. It is a dark and terrible chapter in Irish history. It is the story of constant warfare between the English and the Irish, and of violence and licentiousness on the part of those who should have been the shepherds of the flock.

We have seen how little share Henry II really had in the invasion of Ireland; in fact, he had no share in it beyond receiving the homage of the Irish chieftains, and granting charters to English barons. The real conquerors were Strongbow, Fitz-Stephen, Lacy, and other adventurers. These men were also in the habit of considering their swords better security than the King's charters. As

Hallam points out: "They had done much for Henry II in causing his name to be acknowledged, his administration to be established in Dublin, and in holding their lands by his grant. They claimed, in their turn, that those who had borne the heat of the battle should enjoy the spoil without molestation. Hence the enormous grants of Henry and his successors, though so often censured for impolicy, were probably what they could scarce avoid; and though perhaps not absolutely stipulated as the price of titular sovereignty, were something very like it." Ireland was virtually divided among ten English families. We have Strongbow in Leinster, Lacy in Meath, De Courcy in Antrim and Down, De Burgh in Connaught; and so with the rest of Ireland.

In these facts we have the root of all subsequent Irish troubles. If the Plantagenet sovereigns had not neglected Ireland, but had reduced it to real subjection; if they had also merged the native chieftainry in a civilized peerage, the whole community would gradually have blended into one nation, as even more discordant elements did in England.

But, from their Norman origin, English sovereigns, unhappily, could see no other field of enterprise than France. So, while English blood and English treasure were being wasted in fruitless Continental wars, Ireland was left neglected—a land parcelled out among a number of petty chieftains, and therefore continually at war.

It is to be noted that the Danish settlers on the east coast of Ireland eagerly welcomed the English, and gladly accepted their laws and authority. This is natural, when we remember the close intercourse which existed between the English Church and the Irish Danes. The native Irish, however, were permitted to enjoy their own ancient Brehon laws; but this, as we shall see, in place of proving a benefit, was really a source of hardship and oppression. For example, under the Brehon laws, murder was not punished by death, but by a fine. The immediate result of this was, that it was not a felony for an English settler to kill one of the native Irish, while the latter was outside the pale of English law. So strongly did some of the native Irish feel the disadvantages under which they laboured, that in the year

1278 A.D. some septs applied to Edward I, and offered to pay 8,000 marks for the privilege of being permitted to live under English law.

Hallam remarks : "The letter of Edward I on this is sufficiently characteristic both of his wisdom and his rapaciousness. He is satisfied of the expediency of granting the request, provided it can be done with the general consent of the prelates and nobles of Ireland ; and directs the justiciary, if he can obtain that concurrence, to agree with the petitioners *for the highest fine he can obtain, and for a body of good stout soldiers*." The English aristocracy resident in Ireland had influence to prevent the privilege being granted, both then and on two subsequent occasions.

But soon many of the conquerors were brought to own a different allegiance. In fact, after a little while the English living throughout Ireland became completely separated from those inhabiting what was afterwards known as the English Pale—that is to say, the counties of Dublin, Louth, Meath, and Kildare. They intermarried with the Irish, and by degrees adopted Irish customs.

They became chieftains rather than peers, and neither regarded the King's summons to attend parliaments, nor paid any attention to his judges. They became known as "the degenerate English."

We therefore find a confused medley of conflicting interests in Ireland.

1. The King of England, who was called "The Lord of Ireland," and governed the country by his viceroy.

2. The English barons, &c., who paid him a somewhat nominal submission.

3. The Pope, who was supreme in spiritual matters, and ruled through his legates.

4. The prelates and clergy, whose interests, especially those of the prelates, coincided, as a rule, with those of the King of England and the Pope.

5. The degenerate English, who were said to be "more Irish than the Irish."

6. The native Irish, between whom and the English there was such perpetual warfare, that finally they were known as "the Irish enemy."

With all these conflicting interests, in an age of violence and wrong, while the Crown

of England was too weak to enforce obedience even from the English settlers, it is no wonder that the history of the Church during this period is miserable and disheartening. The Roman supremacy exercised a blighting influence on spiritual life. The English authority gradually declined, until, in the reign of Henry VII, it was imperfectly acknowledged even in the English Pale. The bishops were in most cases riotous, overbearing, and often immoral in their lives. The lower clergy were ignorant and degraded; so much so, that a little while before the Reformation we read that many of them "were not able to say mass, or pronounce the words, they not knowing what they themselves say in the Roman tongue." One or two instances will best illustrate the character of the clergy under Roman influence.

In the year 1210 A.D. a most scandalous quarrel took place between the rival Bishops of Waterford and Lismore. The dispute had reference to certain lands, which each alleged to be the property of his see. The question was referred to commissioners from the Pope, who decided against the Bishop of Waterford.

This prelate, in revenge, seized the Bishop of Lismore in his cathedral, robbed the church of much of its property, hurried the bishop as a prisoner from place to place, and finally cast him, loaded with chains, into the dungeon of Dungarvan Castle. After seven weeks the bishop escaped, but was again seized, and nearly lost his life. The affair at last became so notorious that the Pope interfered, and excommunicated the Bishop of Waterford and many of his clergy.

There is a curious petition of a widow lady, of English extraction, to Edward I, complaining of the cruelties inflicted on her by an Irish bishop of that time, which gives us a terrible insight into the state of the Church. The following is her statement :—

"Margaret le Blunde, of Cashel, petitions our Lord the King's grace that she may have her inheritance which she recovered at Clonmel before the King's judges against David MacCarwell, Bishop of Cashel. *Item*—for the imprisonment of her grandfather and grandmother, whom he shut up and detained in prison until they perished by famine, because they sought redress for the death of

their son, father of your petitioner, who had been killed by said bishop. *Item*—for the death of her six brothers and sisters, who were starved by said bishop, because he had their inheritance in his hands at the time he killed their father. It is to be noted that the said bishop has built an abbey in the city of Cashel, which he fills with robbers, who murder the English and lay waste the country; and that when our Lord the King's council examine into such offences, he passes sentence of excommunication upon them. *Item*—it is to be noted that the said Margaret has five times crossed the Irish Sea. Whereupon she petitions, for God's sake, that the King's grace will have compassion, and that she may be permitted to take possession of her inheritance. It is further to be noted that the aforesaid bishop has been guilty of the murder of many other Englishmen besides her father; and that the said Margaret has obtained many writs of our Lord the King, but to no effect, by reason of the influence and bribery of the said bishop."

In the year 1315 A.D. the men of Ulster sent to Robert Bruce to ask him to come over

and deliver them from the English. This he was unable to do in person; but he sent his brother, Edward Bruce, with an army. He ravaged the country, sparing neither friend nor foe, but was finally defeated at Dundalk, 1318 A.D. Many of the native clergy sided with Bruce. The Pope, however, supported the English cause, and excommunicated the clergy who opposed it. This they had feared, and endeavoured to anticipate, by sending to the Pope a letter entitled "The appeal of the Irish." This most interesting document gives a fearful picture of the state of the country. It is asserted in it that at least 50,000 people had perished in the constant warfare waged between the English and Irish—that even the clergy held that it was no sin to kill an Irishman—and, after further stating their case, the Irish beg the Pope to ratify the appointment of Edward Bruce as King of Ireland. This the Pope refused to do, but, in a letter to the English king, he exhorted him to arrange for the better government of this country. In fact, during all this period there were two courses open to the English Government—the one wise and beneficent, the other foolish and

short-sighted. They invariably chose the latter. The one course was to set themselves resolutely to work to thoroughly reduce the country, to establish English law throughout it, and to reform abuses in the Church, whether the opponents to such a scheme had been wild Irish chiefs living in a semi-savage freedom, or fierce English settlers who, for self-interest, wished the Irish to remain outside the pale of English law; in either case they should have been reduced at once. The other course open to the English Government was to endeavour to preserve the English character of the English settlers, and to regard the "mere Irish" as enemies who, some day, would have to be reduced by somebody. This latter course they pursued, to the great detriment of Ireland.

Accordingly, in the year 1367 A.D., during the lieutenancy of Lionel, Duke of Clarence, was passed the notorious Statute of Kilkenny. By it, it was declared high treason for the English to intermarry with the Irish, or to allow English children to be reared by Irish foster-parents. If an Englishman used the Irish dress or language, he was to be liable to lose his lands and tenements. It was declared

penal to present a "mere Irishman" to a benefice; to admit him to a monastery; to entertain an Irish bard or minstrel; or to admit an Irish horse to graze on the pasture of an Englishman. The climax to such regulations was reached in the year 1447 A.D., when, in a parliament held at Trim, it was declared that, in order to distinguish the English from the Irish, "every Englishman should shave his upper lip at least once a fortnight, and he who did not so should be treated as an Irish enemy." Is it any wonder that the hatred between the two races grew intenser?

Yet, even in these turbulent times, here and there the names of some great churchmen and good men stand out in clear relief amid almost universal degradation. Amongst these the most notable is that of the good Richard Fiz-Ralph, consecrated Archbishop of Armagh in the year 1347 A.D. This prelate is sometimes styled "the Irish Wickliffe." When he reached Armagh, he found himself in the midst of a long-standing controversy with the See of Dublin as to the primacy. Armagh was undoubtedly the more ancient, dating

from the days of St. Patrick; but, in consequence of the English invasion, the See of Dublin immediately rose to a position of great importance. The struggle up to this time had been carried on with varying success; but, FitzRalph vigorously supporting the claims of Armagh, the Pope finally decided in its favour. Thus the old Celtic See retained its pre-eminence—"one solitary and nominal success in the long struggle between the native and the invader, between Celtic and Latin Christianity."

But Fitz-Ralph did more than contend for the rights of the See of Armagh. He set himself actively to reform abuses in the Church. Here his great enemies were the "Begging Friars." This title included the Franciscans (Grey Friars), Dominicans (Black Friars), Carmelites (White Friars), and Augustins (Austin Friars). They claimed the right of entering any diocese or parish, and, under special licence from the Pope, of hearing confessions, selling indulgences, begging for their monasteries, and administering the sacraments. Of course, it was impossible under these circumstances for the parochial clergy to assert their

authority. Chaucer has left us a very clear picture of these men:—

> "His wallet lay before him in his lap,
> Brimful of pardons come from Rome, all hot.
> He had a cross of laton full of stones,
> And in a glass he had pigges bones.
> And with these relics, when that he found
> A poore parson dwelling up inland,
> Upon a day he gat him more monaie
> Than that the parson got in monthes twaie.
> And thus with feigned flattering and japes,
> He made the parson and the people his apes."

Fitz-Ralph, in a course of sermons preached at St. Paul's Cross, London, denounced the whole system as unscriptural, and opposed to the teaching of Christ. For this he was cited by the Friars to appear before the Pope at Avignon. He there made good his case; but, as the old Chronicle tells us, the Friars had the longer purse, and the cause was decided against him. We read how he suffered much at the hands of the Friars, and how attempts were made to kill him; that he fell also into the hands of robbers, and lost all his money, but it was wonderfully restored to him. These things he recounts in a prayer, which begins thus: "To Thee be praise, and glory, and thanksgiving, O Jesu, most holy, most power-

ful, most amiable, who hast said, 'I am the way, the truth, and the life'—a way without deviation, truth without cloud, and life without end. Thou hast shown me the way, Thou hast taught me the truth, and Thou hast promised me the life. Thou wast my way in exile, Thou wast my truth in counsel, and Thou wilt be my life in reward."

In such words does Fitz-Ralph present to us a beautiful and simple faith. He died at Avignon, November 16th, 1360 A.D., as he was about to return to Ireland. There were grave suspicions that he had been poisoned by the Friars. About ten years after his death his bones were brought home to his native place, Dundalk. A couplet has been preserved which lets us see how the common people regarded him:—

"Many a man I see, and many a mile I walk;
But never saw I holier man than Richard of Dundalk."

Fitz-Ralph seems to have attempted to circulate the Scriptures in Irish. It is said that he possessed a copy of the New Testament in Irish, and that it was translated by himself. As regards his theological views, he seems to

have been one of the first precursors of the Reformation. Capgrave writes of him in his Chronicle: "In Oxenforth he held strange opinions, which Wickliffe afterwards mentioned more venomously." The same writer styles Wickliffe "the organ of the devil and the enemy of the Church." It is certain that Wickliffe was acquainted with Fitz-Ralph's labours, and held them in high estimation.

It is especially to be noted that even during this period we retained our rightful title, and in the famous complaint of the Irish nobles to Pope John XXII, A.D. 1318, the Church is called "*The Church of Ireland.*"

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BEGINNINGS OF THE REFORMATION.

HENRY VIII, comparatively early in his reign, seems to have taken the state of Ireland into serious consideration. He felt that it was a disgrace that the country should, for three centuries and a half, have nominally been subject to England, and yet be without the first elements of social order. In the meantime, a great movement for religious reformation was upheaving England. Self-interest, rather than zeal for religious truth, caused Henry to put himself at its head. Accordingly, in the year 1534 A.D., the Church of England threw off the yoke of Rome, and declared the King to be "Supreme Head on earth of the Church in England." No similar movement, however, for Reformation had made itself felt in Ireland. Good "Richard of Dundalk" was in his grave, and there was no one found to fill

his place. In fact, the great mass of the people were too ignorant and degraded to know that they needed reformation. But it followed, as a matter of course, that, if Henry had been declared Head of the Church in England, a similar move must be effected in Ireland, otherwise Ireland would have become simply a harbour of refuge for the Pope's adherents. At this time, however, no Irish bishop had declared himself in favour of the Reformation. But the See of Dublin opportunely becoming vacant, George Browne, a monk of the Augustinian order, but of reforming tendencies, was consecrated Archbishop (July, 1534 A.D.), and sent to this country. It is to be noted that Browne was consecrated by the English bishops, and thus entered on his office unshackled by any tie of submission to the Pope.

Shortly after Browne's appointment, a commission was sent to him and other eminent persons, "to confer with the nobility and gentry of Ireland" in reference to a reformation of the Church, and especially as regarded the question of the King's supremacy. Much opposition was met with from some of the

clergy, led by Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh. However, in a parliament held in Dublin in the year 1536 A.D., an Act was passed establishing the King's supremacy, whereby it was ordained "that the King, his heirs and successors, should be the Supreme Head on earth of the Church of Ireland." This passed both Houses of Parliament, although in the House of Lords the prelates actually formed a majority. At the same time an "Act of Appeals" was passed, forbidding any appeals to be taken to Rome, and substituting a court of delegates in Ireland for hearing such. There was also passed the "Act of First Fruits," by which all persons obtaining preferment in the Church were to pay the first year's income to the King.

We must also notice another Act of the same Parliament, "to encourage the English order, habit, and language." By this it was enacted that preferment in the ministry should be given "only to such as could speak English, unless, after four proclamations in the next market town, such could not be had." It was further enacted that not merely should all clergymen endeavour to teach the English

language to their flocks, but should themselves "*preach the Word of God in English.*" This was a fatal mistake. Even supposing clergymen could have been found to do so in every town and village in Ireland, the people would have gained no instruction, as the great proportion of them understood only the Irish language. In England the Bible was translated into the language of the country, and not only placed in the churches, but circulated through the land. Every means was taken to make the people understand the doctrines of the Reformation. No such measures were taken in Ireland. Had the Bible at this time been translated into Irish, and had Irish-speaking teachers been sent among the people, the subsequent history of this land would, under God, have been totally different.

In consequence of this Act, the clergy who favoured the Pope were able to describe the Reformation as a political dodge. They could pose as popular champions, defenders of the nationality and language of the Irish. Is it any wonder that, owing to this criminal blunder of the English Government, three-fourths of the population were lost to the

Church of Ireland? Some three hundred and fifty years later the English Government disestablished and disendowed the Church of Ireland. Why? Chiefly because three-fourths of the population did not belong to it. The Church was punished for the original mistake of English statesmen.

In May, 1538 A.D., the Pope took vigorous measures to re-assert his authority. By the help of Archbishop Cromer, the following vow of obedience was widely taken throughout Ireland :—"I, A. B., from this hour forward, in the presence of the Holy Trinity, of the Blessed Virgin, mother of God, of St. Peter, of the holy apostles, archangels, angels, saints, and of all the holy host of heaven, swear that I will always be obedient to the Holy See of St. Peter of Rome, and to my holy lord the Pope, and to his successors, in all things, temporal as well as spiritual." The oath further declared all those accursed who should dispute the Pope's supremacy. The Pope further found means to excite the O'Nials of Ulster to rebel against Henry, and to pose as champions of the Papacy. After committing great devastations, their forces

were finally defeated at Bellahoe, in Meath, by Lord Gray and Sir William Brereton.

In the year 1528 A.D., Henry had dissolved many of the smaller monasteries in Ireland. He now proceeded to complete the work. In place, however, of restoring the property of these religious houses to the Church, he used it as a bribe to induce the great families of Ireland to submit more thoroughly to his authority. Accordingly, when, in the year 1541 A.D., Henry was declared "King," in place of "Lord of Ireland," which had previously been the title of the Kings of England in this country, this measure was followed by the submission of the greater number of the Irish chiefs. They consented to hold their estates under English conditions, and to adopt the English rule of inheritance. Never was a better promise of peace for Ireland than at this time.

In 1543 A.D., Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, died. An opportunity was thus afforded of promoting the Reformation by the appointment of some judicious reformer. Unfortunately, Henry's personal interest in the Reformation seems to have been limited to

the desire for establishing his own supremacy, in order that he might the more easily arrange his matrimonial difficulties. He accordingly appointed George Dowdall as Archbishop of Armagh, a man of strong Romish views, although he consented to receive his appointment from the King. The Pope refused to acknowledge his position, and appointed Robert Waucop, a Scotchman, to the high office. This Waucop, although in the records of the Council of Trent he is styled Archbishop of Armagh, was never acknowledged in this country. But it is to be noted that up to this there had been no schism in the Church of Ireland. Browne, the reformer, and Cromer and Dowdall, the supporters of the Papacy, were members of the same Church. In fact, it was not till the reign of Elizabeth that the Pope, despairing of regaining his authority over the Irish Church, established in this country a rival Church—a branch of the Church of Rome.

Henry VIII died in 1547 A.D., and was succeeded by his son, Edward VI, then a minor, during whose short reign the Reformation made great progress in England; and in

1549 A.D. there was published what is known as "the First Prayer Book of Edward VI."

In the year 1551 A.D., a letter was sent to Sir Anthony St. Leger, then Lord Deputy of Ireland, enjoining the use of this English Prayer Book. St. Leger summoned the bishops and clergy to meet him in Dublin on the 1st of March to consider this order. At this meeting, Dowdall and the majority of the Northern bishops, after strongly opposing the change, finally left the meeting. Browne, Archbishop of Dublin, then exhorted the rest to obey, which they promised to do. The English service was performed for the first time in Christ Church Cathedral, in Dublin, on Easter Day, 1551 A.D. Later in the year an edition of this Prayer Book was published in Dublin, being the first book printed in Ireland.

During the year 1550 A.D., and the two following years, several vacancies occurred on the Irish bench of bishops. Their places were filled by men of reforming views. These were Lancaster of Kildare, Travers of Leighlin, Casey of Limerick, Bale of Ossory, and, finally, Goodacre of Armagh.

Towards the close of the year 1551 A.D., Sir James Crofts, who had succeeded St. Leger as Viceroy, received an instruction from England "to take measures to propagate the Word of God in the English tongue, and *that the service should be translated into Irish in those places which need it.*" This latter injunction, most unhappily, was not carried out.

In consequence of Dowdall's opposition to the Reformation, the Primacy was transferred from Armagh to Dublin, and Dowdall himself soon after was either banished, or retired in disgust from Ireland, the See of Armagh thus becoming vacant. Goodacre was appointed. Of these new bishops the most remarkable was undoubtedly Bishop Bale of Ossory, a man who laboured well amongst his people, and amid much opposition fearlessly preached the Gospel. He himself says: "I earnestly exhorted the people to repentance for sin, and required them to give credit to the Gospel of salvation: to acknowledge and believe that there was but one God; and Him alone, without any other, sincerely to worship; to confess one Christ for an only Saviour and Redeemer, and to trust in none other man's

prayers, merits, or deservings, but in His alone for salvation."

The death of Edward VI, in the year 1553 A.D., interrupted this good work.

The story of the Marian persecution in England (1553-1558 A.D.) is too well known to need mention here. Fortunately, the Church of Ireland was to a large extent saved from the sword of persecution. But, naturally, on the accession of Mary, the work of Reformation was completely stopped. Goodacre of Armagh died, and Archbishop Dowdall was immediately restored to the Primacy. The other Protestant bishops were deprived of their sees, but saved their lives by flight. In the year 1556 A.D., the Church of Ireland was declared to be reconciled to Rome. In the meantime, in England, hundreds of Protestants had suffered martyrdom for their faith, and Mary resolved to try the same means with the Protestants of Ireland. How near an escape they had the following story testifies. The commission for punishing the Protestants of Ireland was entrusted to Dr. Cole, Dean of St. Paul's. On his way to Ireland he arrived at Chester, and was there visited by the mayor

of the town. The landlady of the inn saw the Dean take a small leather box out of his bag, and overheard him say to the mayor: "Here is a commission that shall lash the heretics of Ireland." This landlady having a brother named John Edmonds, a Protestant, living in Dublin, resolved to save him. Watching her opportunity, she took the commission out of the box, and placed in it instead a pack of cards, with the knave of clubs uppermost. When the Dean arrived in Dublin, he presented the box to the Lord Deputy, who directed his secretary to open it, and read the commission. What was their astonishment to find only a pack of cards! The Dean, however, declared he had had a commission. The Lord Lieutenant answered: "Then let us have another commission, and we will shuffle the cards in the meantime." The Dean went back to England, and before he could return to Dublin with a correct commission, Queen Mary was dead. Thus were the Protestants of Ireland preserved.

CHAPTER IX.

THE REFORMATION DURING THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH (1558-1603).

SHORTLY after the accession of Elizabeth, an order was sent to the Earl of Sussex, then Viceroy of Ireland, "to set up the worship of God as it is in England, and to make such statutes in the next Parliament as had lately been made in England." These orders were faithfully carried out by the Parliament of 1560 A.D. There was first passed an Act establishing the Queen's supremacy as "Governor on earth of the Church of Ireland." The word "Governor" was used in place of "Head," because the Queen said the true Head of the Church was Christ. Secondly, there was passed an Act of Uniformity. We have seen that the first Prayer Book of Edward VI had been introduced into Ireland. Shortly before his death there was published a second Prayer Book, enlarged and revised. This book had

not been introduced into Ireland. At Elizabeth's accession it underwent a fresh revision, and was now ordered to be read in all churches throughout Ireland. If any clergyman refused to do so, for the first offence he was liable to forfeit one year's income, and to be imprisoned for six months. If he offended again, he would be deprived of his cure, and imprisoned for a year. All persons also were ordered to resort on Sundays and holidays to the Parish Church, and "there to abide orderly during the service of God," on pain of the censures of the Church, and a fine of 12d. to be levied by the churchwardens in aid of the poor. These regulations, which it was almost impossible to carry out in full, were unfortunately followed by another, which seems to have been passed with a view to disarm hostility. It was enacted that, inasmuch as English ministers could not in many cases be found to read the service, and as none could print and few could read the Irish language, it should be lawful for the priest to perform the service in the Latin tongue. Here again another opportunity was lost for devising means to instruct the people in their own language.

Let us now briefly mark the ecclesiastical changes during four reigns.

1. In the reign of Henry VIII, the supremacy of the Pope was annulled, and the first-fruits and twentieths of all benefices were to be paid to the King. Many Romish doctrines were, however, still maintained, e.g., the seven sacraments, and masses for the living and the dead.

2. Edward VI abolished the mass, and authorized the English Book of Common Prayer, in which the sacraments of Baptism and the Lord's Supper are alone acknowledged.

3. Mary restored everything to Rome.

4. Elizabeth re-established the work of Reformation; put down masses; authorized uniformity of worship in accordance with the Book of Common Prayer, and forbade the use of Popish ceremonies.

The result of these reforms was to cause a great interest in the contents of the Bible. We read that a bookseller in Dublin, by name John Dale, sold 7,000 copies during the years 1559 and 1560 A.D.

Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh, had died before the accession of Elizabeth; but the

see was not filled till 1562 A.D., when Adam Loftus was appointed, and consecrated in the following year.

In the year 1565 A.D., the following articles of religion were put forward by Sir Henry Sydney, the Viceroy, and the archbishops and bishops.

1. The first acknowledged the Trinity in Unity in the Godhead.

2. The second declared the sufficiency of Holy Scripture to salvation, and professed belief in the three Creeds.

3. The third related to the power of the Church in ordering ceremonies, expelling offenders, &c.

4. The fourth defined who might lawfully take any office or ministry in the Church.

5. The fifth acknowledged the Queen's supremacy.

6. The sixth denied the authority of the Bishop of Rome in Ireland.

7. The seventh declared the Book of Common Prayer to be agreeable to Holy Scripture.

8. The eighth declared that valid baptism was administered by pure water, and forbade other ceremonies to be joined to the rite.

9. The ninth condemned private masses, and denied that the mass was a propitiatory sacrifice for the quick and dead, and a means to deliver souls out of purgatory.

10. The tenth directed the administration of the Holy Communion in both kinds.

11. The eleventh disallowed the worship of images.

The general assent of the prelates and clergy seems to have been given to these regulations. Only two bishops were deprived of their sees. Leverous, Bishop of Kildare, refused to take the oath of supremacy; and Walsh, Bishop of Meath, not only refused to take the oath, but preached against the Prayer Book and the authority of the Queen. Leverous was merely deprived, and afterwards had a school in Limerick. Walsh's case was considered more serious. He was imprisoned for some time, and when released went to Spain, where he died, 1577 A.D. Curwin, Archbishop of Dublin, although sent by Mary to re-establish Popery, found his conscience allowed him to turn round and support Protestantism in the reign of Elizabeth.

But while all these changes were being

mooted or effected, the country was in a dreadful condition. A document, giving the results of an inquiry by Privy Council, reveals a deplorable state of affairs, and concludes in these words :—"As for religion, there was but small appearance of it, the churches uncovered, the clergy scattered, and scarce the existence of a God known to those ignorant and barbarous people." Designs were formed to establish free schools, and to repair the parish churches ; but they seem to have effected little.

At the same time, much was being done by individual exertion in certain places. Nicholas Walsh, Bishop of Ossory, especially deserves notice. This prelate is not to be confounded with the bishop of the same name who was deprived in this reign for refusing to acknowledge the Queen's supremacy. This Bishop of Ossory, when Chancellor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, and working with John Kerney, Treasurer of the Cathedral, was the first to introduce Irish types for printing. By this means Irish Prayer Books were circulated for the first time. He was also engaged on a translation of the New Testament into Irish

—a work finished and printed afterwards by the agency of Archbishops Donnellan and Daniel.

A decided effort to spread instruction in the country was made during the viceroyalty of Sir John Perrot, in the year 1584 A.D. This was an attempt to found a university in Dublin. The first plan, however, was a failure. It was really a scheme to "rob Peter in order to pay Paul." St. Patrick's Cathedral was to be done away with, and its revenues taken to form a new university. This proposal had to be abandoned, owing to the opposition of Archbishop Loftus, who had been translated from Armagh to Dublin, on the departure of Curwin for England. The Archbishop, however, in the year 1590 A.D., accomplished the end in view by other means. He and others of the clergy met "the mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city," and explained to them "how advantageous it would be to have a nursery of learning founded here; and how kindly Her Majesty would take it, if they would bestow that old decayed monastery of 'All Hallows,' which her father, Henry VIII, had, at the dissolution of the abbeys, given

them, for erecting such a structure." The request was immediately granted. Such was the origin of the University of Dublin. In the year following letters patent were issued, by which (1) A college was appointed to be erected, to be the mother of a university, in a certain place called All Hallows, near Dublin; (2) It was to be called the College of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, near Dublin; (3) It was to consist of one Provost; three Fellows, in the name of more; and three Scholars, in the name of more. Archbishop Loftus was the first Provost, and one of the first three Scholars was the famous James Ussher, afterwards Archbishop of Armagh.

Yet, in spite of all efforts, the general condition of the country was miserable in the extreme. Edmund Spenser, the famous author of the *Faerie Queene*, accompanied as secretary Lord Gray De Wilton, Viceroy of Ireland, in 1580 A.D. In 1585 A.D., he obtained a grant of Kilcolman Castle, and 3,000 acres of land in the county of Cork. While there he composed a treatise called *A View of the State of Ireland*, in which he presents a very depressing picture of the condition of affairs. For

example, he writes: "Whatever disorders you see in the Church of England ye may find in Ireland, and many more; namely: gross simony, greedy covetousness, fleshly incontinency, careless sloth, and generally all disordered life in the common clergyman." Again, in speaking of the building up and repairing of ruined churches, he adds—"Whereof the most part lie even with the ground; and some, that have lately been repaired, are so unhandsomely patched and thatched, that men do even shun the places for the uncomeliness thereof." Besides this, he points out that there was no income available to support the parish clergy; and as regards the people generally, he writes—"They be all Papists by their profession, but in the same so blindly and brutishly informed for the most part, that not one amongst a hundred knoweth any ground of religion, or any article of his faith, but perhaps can say his Pater Noster, or his Ave Maria, without any knowledge or understanding what one word thereof meaneth." In his suggestions to remedy this state of things, Spenser again insists on the necessity for sending Irish-

speaking clergymen, of devout life, amongst the people to persuade them to better things.

The condition of things was, therefore, really this: *The mass of the people were nominally Papists; really they were heathen.* The questions then meet us—When did "the Isle of Saints" sink into this condition? and also, How did it happen that reformation was found to be so difficult? The answer to the first question is that this state of things was mainly brought about during the three hundred years of Roman supremacy. The charge against the clergy of ignorance and immorality was merely bringing to light a state of things which had existed previously. We even read that, during the Roman period, on one occasion as many as 150 priests were sent to Rome on the charge of an immoral life. Such men were not likely to lead their parishioners in the way of godliness. Also, the difficulty of reforming and instructing the people was greatly increased by the action of the Papacy. As soon as the bishops of Ireland had accepted the supremacy of Elizabeth, the Pope appointed other men to their sees. These persons, from possessing neither the revenues

of, nor authority in, the various bishoprics, were known as "titular" bishops. They were chiefly used by the Pope to stir up the leading Irish families to rebel against England. There were three important rebellions of this character in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth. The malcontents were generally assisted by the Spanish, as the Pope excommunicated Elizabeth, and handed over Ireland to the King of Spain. He, moreover, promised to all who should engage in war against England the same indulgences that were usually granted to persons who set out on an expedition against the Turks, and for the recovery of the Holy Land. Amongst these indulgences was expressly included full pardon and remission of all their sins. The first rebellion was that of Shane O'Nial of Ulster. Among other acts of violence, he burnt the cathedral and city of Armagh, but was soon afterwards assassinated in June, 1567 A.D. Trouble then sprang up in the South between the Ormonds and the Desmonds, which ended in the Desmonds taking up arms against England. After several years of strife, this struggle was ended by the total defeat of 700 Spaniards and

Italians, who had landed in Smerwick Bay to assist the Earl of Desmond, 1580 A.D. Three years later, the Earl himself was killed while attempting to seize some cattle. The results of this rebellion were terrible. Munster was utterly laid waste; and the official report informed Elizabeth that there was little left for her to reign over in Munster but ashes and carcases.

This rebellion was no sooner crushed than in the North the O'Nials began to give trouble again. This time it was Hugh O'Nial who raised the standard of revolt. He defeated the Queen's forces at the Blackwater, 1598 A.D. The struggle then proceeded in a desultory way till 1601 A.D., when a Spanish army of 5,000 men landed at Kinsale. The Queen's forces advanced against them. O'Nial came down from Ulster on their rear, and the English troops found themselves hemmed in. The battle of Kinsale was fought on Christmas Day, 1601 A.D., and, in spite of their unfavourable position, the English gained a complete victory. This was followed by the submission of O'Nial, 1603 A.D.

It was these constant insurrections, fomented

by Papal emissaries, that stood in the way of the settlement and reformation of the country. It is sometimes asserted that Protestants paid back to the Romanists all the persecution they had suffered at their hands. This was certainly not the case in Ireland. The Act of Uniformity was administered in the widest spirit, and before Elizabeth's death toleration had been virtually granted. If a Romanist suffered, it was on political rather than religious grounds. It was because he was taught that his fidelity to the Pope compelled him to act as a traitor to the English Crown.

CHAPTER X.

JAMES I TO THE RESTORATION.

(1603-1660.)

JAMES I succeeded to the Crown under favourable circumstances, not only in his other dominions, but also in Ireland. The great families had all submitted to Elizabeth, and there would have been perfect peace in the country, had not a question which had been submitted to the Universities of Salamanca and Valladolid, as to "whether an Irish Papist may obey or assist his Protestant King," been answered in the negative. As a result of this, there were disturbances in Cork, Waterford, Limerick, and other towns. These were, however, soon crushed, and the Lord Deputy, having established the authority of James, in the hope of quieting the country, published a proclamation of general pardon.

The country then remained tolerably peaceful till the year 1607, when a rebellion was

planned by the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell and others. The conspiracy was happily discovered before it was ripe for execution. Tyrone and Tyrconnell fled the country, and some of their adherents were put to death.

The estates of these chieftains were then declared forfeited to the Crown. They included over five hundred thousand acres in Ulster. On the land thus at his disposal, James, by the help of Sir Arthur Chichester, placed that great Plantation of Scotch and English settlers which has rendered Ulster, from being the poverty-stricken dwelling-place of the wildest natives, the most flourishing and the most enlightened part of Ireland. No proprietor was to receive more than 2,000 acres; a second class were to receive 1,500, and a third 1,000 acres. Those who received 2,000 acres were bound within four years to build a castle, and a "bawn," or strong courtyard. The second class within two years were to build a stone or brick house with a bawn, while the third were to build a bawn only. The first class were to plant on their lands within three years forty-eight able-

bodied men, eighteen years old and upwards, born in England or the inland parts of Scotland ; the others to do the same in proportion to their estates. Large grants of land were also made to the Companies of the Corporation of London, on the understanding that they should support the ordinances of religion, and the diffusion of education on the properties. Lands which had belonged to the Church were also restored to it, and glebe lands were likewise assigned to many of the parochial clergy.

But by this great and beneficent measure a complication was introduced into the religious history of the country. Many of the Scotch settlers were Presbyterians, and in some cases their own ministers came over with them. Thus the first Presbyterian congregation in Ireland was formed at Broad Island, in County Antrim, in 1611 ; and gradually others were established. Some of these ministers, who were, as a body, religious and earnest men, fell into line with the Church of Ireland. For example, Brice became Prebendary of Kilroot, under Bishop Echlin. Others remained firm to the Presbyterian model.

A Parliament was soon after summoned, which represented the whole country, and both the English and Irish races, and an Act was passed repealing all the old statutes which tended to keep the two races separate; and the recital of the Act expressed a hope that "they will grow into one nation, and former differences be forgotten." Convocation was also summoned for the first time, May 24th, 1613. It consisted of two Houses, sitting separately. The Upper House consisted of the Bench of Bishops; the Lower of certain dignitaries, and of two representatives from each diocese, called Proctors.

The Thirty-nine Articles had never been accepted by the Irish Church; and so Convocation now proceeded to draw up articles of religion. The Church of Ireland at this time, though accepting Church government, was in matters of doctrine inclined to Puritanism. The presence of Roman Catholicism, as a strong and opposing organization, has had the effect of preserving this tendency to a greater or less extent. Accordingly, the Irish Articles now formulated differed from the English mainly on the question of Predes-

tination. The Irish Article ran thus :—"God hath from eternity predestinated some unto life, and has reprobated some unto death; and of the predestinated there is a predetermined and fixed number, which can neither be increased or diminished." The following was also passed, apparently with a view to endeavour to soften the harshness of this statement :—"All things being ordained for the manifestation of God's glory, and His glory being to appear both in the works of His justice and His mercy, it seemed good to His heavenly wisdom to choose out a certain number towards whom He would extend His undeserved mercy, leaving the rest to be spectacles of His justice." There were in all 104 Articles, which dealt with all subjects of doctrine and discipline.

In 1614 the Pope, seeing no prospect of regaining his influence over the Church of Ireland, ordered a synod to be held at Drogheda. The Roman Church in Ireland was here reorganized, with its full complement of bishops and dignitaries ; and from this year dates the branch of the Italian Church in Ireland as a separate communion.

James died in 1625, and was succeeded by his son, Charles I.

During the reign of James, absolutist views as to the authority of the King had been gaining ground with a certain section, from which a bitter harvest was to be reaped by Charles. Moreover, James had been strongly convinced of a close connection between Royalty and Episcopacy. "No Bishop, no King," was a favourite remark. Some of the clergy also—some from conviction, and others for profit—had encouraged the King's pretensions. In fact, "the right divine of kings to govern wrong" was virtually an article of faith, and the subject of sermons on the part of a section of the clergy. In consequence of this, the Church was visited with all the odium felt by the Puritans and others against the pretensions of the King, in addition to that which they felt from their hostility to her government and ritual.

The early years of the reign of Charles I are most notable in Ireland for the growth of Presbyterianism in Ulster. But it is a noteworthy fact, that although the Presbyterian ministers objected to the constitution and

discipline of the Church, they were willing in many cases to accept of her appointments and emoluments. Some writers have endeavoured to minimize this fact. But take the case of Mr. Robert Blair, as told by himself. He had been invited by Lord Claneboy from Scotland in 1623, and offered the parish of Bangor. But, in order to hold it, Mr. Blair was naturally required to be ordained in accordance with the laws of the Church, and to acknowledge its authority. He objected to Episcopal ordination, and the Bishop is reported to have asked him whether he would consent to be ordained by him and certain presbyters, provided he ranked only as one of the presbyters. To this Mr. Blair says that he agreed. Whatever we may think of the Bishop's action, it shows how desirous the Church was not to exclude from her communion any who could possibly be retained within it. But the fact remains that Bishop Echlin ordained Mr. Blair. Moreover, the Bishop could not act merely as a presbyter. A bishop has a certain office and responsibility assigned him by the Church, in whose name he acts; and he cannot at one time ordain as a presbyter, and at another as

a bishop. The fact that presbyters took part in the ordination is simply in accordance with the rule of the Church: "The bishop *with the priests present* shall lay their hands severally upon the head of everyone that receiveth the order of priesthood." Moreover, among the records of the Sovereign's Court of Prerogative in Dublin, now deposited in the Record Office, is a Regal Visitation Book of the Diocese of Down and Connor in the year 1633. In it we read, among many other clergymen ordained by Bishop Echlin, that Robert Blair had, in the year 1623, been admitted to the holy orders of deacon and of priest. In other cases, in order to include certain other ministers within the Church of Ireland, some phrases that they objected to in the ordination service were omitted.

In Convocation, held July, 1635, owing chiefly to the exertions of Bramhall, Bishop of Derry, the Thirty-nine Articles were accepted by the Church of Ireland, in order to bring the English and Irish Churches into closer communion. The effect of this seems scarcely to have been realized by some of the consenting parties. For example, Archbishop Ussher,

whose theology was of a decidedly Calvinistic type, and who had framed the Irish Articles mentioned above, writes:—"The Articles of Religion agreed upon in our former Synod, anno 1615, we let stand as they did before. But, for the manifesting of our agreement with the Church of England, we have received and approved your Articles also." It is evident, however, that where the two sets of Articles differed, it was impossible to demand that clergymen should believe both. In fact, the object of Bramhall and his supporters seems to have been to quietly give a death-blow to the Irish Articles which were inconsistent with the English.

While these events had been taking place, the country had been in a state of moderate tranquillity. But it was a wild, fierce age. Men felt strongly and often acted violently. Many circumstances tended to hinder peace. On the one hand, an unhappy principle had been always acted on by the Stuart Sovereigns, viz., that none but the State's religion had a right to exist in the eye of the law. On the other hand, nothing would satisfy the Puritan party unless all men became Puritans; while,

on his part, the Pope of Rome put in a claim for complete supremacy alike in things temporal and spiritual. An attempt was made about this time, on the part of the Puritans, to introduce the Scotch Covenant among the Ulster settlers. This Covenant was afterwards repudiated by many of the most respectable Scotch settlers, including the Viscounts Montgomery and Claneboy. In consequence of this attempt and renunciation, it was thought wise to demand a similar statement on oath from all persons of the Scottish nation, of sixteen years and upwards, inhabiting or having any estate in the kingdom of Ireland. This was popularly called "the black oath." In it was promised "due submission to the King; not to bear arms or do any rebellious act against any of his royal commands, and to abjure the Covenant." Many refused to take this oath, and Strafford, who was then Viceroy, seems to have used much severity in enforcing it.

Strafford had been enabled by his force of character to maintain his position, although the instrument of despotic power. But on his recall to England in 1640, while other governors, of weaker powers, were endeavour-

ing to act upon the same lines, a series of misfortunes befell the Church of Ireland. First, alike in extent and in intensity of atrocity, we have the rebellion of 1641. On Saturday, October 23rd, the rebellion broke out, and swept over Ireland like a tornado. The authorities of the Roman Church had declared that to kill a heretic was no more sinful than to kill a dog; but that to relieve or protect one would be an unpardonable sin. Accordingly, the Romish party rose, and resolved to sweep the island clear of Protestants. After a lapse of nearly two centuries and a half, little would be gained by a detailed account of murders and sickening atrocities. The curious can find in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, thirty-two volumes of sworn depositions to attest the horrors of this awful time. No possible act of barbarism and brutality was omitted. Of the number massacred, various calculations have been made. The figures vary from 300,000 to 37,000. It seems most probable that about 40,000 were murdered at the first outbreak, when no hostility was expected. The chief enmity of the rebels was naturally directed against the

Church which was said to have supplanted the Roman. The Scotch Presbyterians, though afterwards attacked with equal ferocity, had more time to prepare. To one man alone was any consideration shown, and even to him the courtesy extended was but scant. This was Bedell, the good Bishop of Kilmore —a man who had possibly done more to spread true Christianity, and a knowledge of the Scriptures, among the Irish than all the men of his time. His known piety affected even the savage rebels. He was also protected by Dr. Swiney, the Roman Catholic Bishop of Kilmore, but was afterwards imprisoned in a castle upon an island in Lough Oughter. He was soon exchanged by the rebels, but was not allowed to go to Dublin, which was then the "city of refuge." He retired to the house of a friend in the neighbourhood, and soon after died. Many of the rebels followed his dead body to the grave, and a Romish eeclesiastic, standing by, was heard to exclaim : "Oh, may my soul be with Bedell!"

As was natural, the Protestants in some cases retaliated for the outrages inflicted on

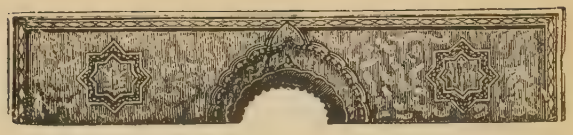
them. For example, on Sunday, January 9th, 1642, they descended on Island Magee, in County Antrim, and murdered some thirty Romanists who dwelt there. Such acts of violence are much to be deplored; but some allowance must be made for men enraged by the merciless slaughter of their nearest and dearest. Moreover, at several Synods held during the outbreak, and also subsequently, the bishops and other authorities of the Roman Church justified the rebellion, and urged the people to persevere.

In the meantime, in England, matters had come to a crisis between Charles and the Parliament. In the year 1643, a body of Presbyterian divines met in the Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster, and drew up what was hence known as the Westminster Confession. Archbishop Ussher was invited to join their deliberations, but refused. In the same year the Solemn League and Covenant was framed in Scotland. This bound those who subscribed to it to preserve the reformed religion of the Church of Scotland; to endeavour to bring the Churches of God in the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and unifor-

mity in religion, in confession of faith, and in form of Church government. They also pledged themselves to endeavour to extirpate Popery, and also Prelacy—that is (as it goes on to explain), Church government by archbishops, bishops, their chancellors, deans and chapters, and archdeacons. This was approved of by the Westminster divines, and also by the English Parliament. The former also published a Directory for public worship, abolishing the Prayer Book. They drew up at the same time a longer and shorter Catechism.

The next step was to have these introduced into Ireland. The Solemn League and Covenant was first tried. It was rejected in Dublin by the Marquis of Ormonde and the troops under him. In the North it was eagerly welcomed by General Munroe and the Scotch soldiery. The Presbyterian settlers also subscribed it gladly. In the year 1647 Dublin had to surrender, and the triumph of the Parliament and of the Puritans was complete. The Liturgy of the Church of Ireland was prohibited. The revenues of the bishops were seized for State purposes. The clergy were ordered to subscribe the Solemn League and

Covenant, and to adopt the Westminster Confession, or be ejected from their livings. To their credit be it said, in most cases they preferred to endure hardship for conscience' sake. Presbyterian ministers were then settled in the livings from which the rightful owners had been thus wrongfully ejected. In some cases, as, for instance, in Belfast, when Cromwell and the Independents came into power, the Presbyterian ministers had in their turn to give place to Independent supplanters. Cromwell afterwards came to regard the Presbyterians with more favour; but during all the Protectorate, the clergy of the Church of Ireland were exposed to persecution at the hands of the ruling authorities. In hidden valleys and in remote hiding-places, a few persons would sometimes gather to join in the prayers they loved so well. But Cromwell openly stated that "no indulgence could be shown to the members of the Church of Ireland," because they were "the implacable enemies of his government."



CHAPTER XI.

CHARLES II.—THE REVOLUTION.

(1660-1690.)

CROMWELL died September 3rd, 1658. He was succeeded by his amiable but feeble son Richard; but it was evident that the days of the Commonwealth were numbered, and that the Restoration was only a matter of time. A Convention Parliament voted the restoration of the monarchy. On May 1st, 1660, Charles wrote his famous letter from Breda, in which the following passage occurs:—

"Because the passion and uncharitableness of the times have produced several opinions in religion by which men are engaged in parties and animosities against each other, which, when they shall hereafter unite in a freedom of conversation, will be composed and better understood, *we do declare a liberty to tender*

consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom."

Surely one would have said that here was the beginning of better things, and that Christians in these countries would have begun to leave off hating one another for religious opinions. The first discordant note was struck by the extreme party among the Presbyterians. Not satisfied with toleration, they endeavoured to extort from Charles a promise not to allow the use of the Prayer Book and the surplice, even in his own chapel. This the King indignantly refused.

On May 14th, 1660, Charles was proclaimed in Dublin amid great joy. The restoration of the Established Church followed as a matter of course. Only eight bishops, however, survived the late period of persecution. Of these, Bramhall was advanced to the Primacy. The vacant sees were then filled up, and one day in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, there was a notable service. Two archbishops and ten bishops were consecrated on the same day by the Primate. Among the bishops was the

great and good Jeremy Taylor, who was advanced to the See of Down and Connor.

The authorities of the Church, however, were now met by a very difficult question. Not merely in the North, but elsewhere, the clergy of the Church of Ireland had been expelled from their churches. In many cases Presbyterian ministers had been placed in these parishes. How, then, were these men to be treated? Legally they were intruders; but many of them were good, conscientious, and hard-working ministers, and to expel them *in globo* would have been a harsh and unchristian measure. At the same time, it was evident that it was impossible to leave them in possession of the benefices and emoluments of the Church, or to entrust the people to their care, if they refused to acknowledge the authority of the Church whose property they were enjoying. The following course—which commends itself as at once wise and considerate—was adopted by Archbishop Bramhall, in the diocese of Armagh. He held a visitation of his clergy, at which many ministers appeared, and exhibited titles to livings which had been granted to them during the Commonwealth. The

Archbishop told them that "they were not legal titles ;* but because he had heard well of them, he was willing to make them such by institution and induction, which they humbly requested his Lordship to do." He next desired to see their "Letters of Orders;" but some had only their "Certificates of Ordination from some Presbyterian classes," which the Primate told them did not qualify them for any preferment in the Church. They immediately asked—"Are we not ministers of the Gospel?" The Archbishop replied that this was not the question, and that he would not take on himself to decide the value of their ordination, nor what powers it gave them; but that the Church of Ireland was a national Church, with a fixed constitution, and a certain form of ordination. Moreover, he pointed out to them that, if they refused to be episcopally ordained, they would have no legal way of recovering their income, if the people refused to pay tithes. This common-sense view of the matter had due weight, and the ministers in this diocese at once agreed to act on the Primate's views. In their "Letters of Orders" the Primate inserted a clause, stating

* Vesey's *Life of Primate Bramhall.*

that he "did not annul their former orders, if they had any, nor determine their validity, much less did he condemn the orders of the foreign Churches, whom he left to their own Judge; but that he only supplied what was before wanting, as required by the canons of the Anglican Church." More wise and Christian conduct cannot well be imagined.

But the case was different in some parts, notably in the Diocese of Down and Connor. Here party spirit ran very high. The bishop, as we have seen, was Jeremy Taylor, the most eloquent of divines. During the Commonwealth he had held a lectureship at Lisburn, which appears to have somehow escaped interference. It is said, also, that during the troublous times he sometimes gathered a congregation together "in the half-ruined church of Kilulta," by which we are probably to understand the ancient church of Ballinderry. "As an orator," says Hallam, "we have no reason to believe, or rather much reason to disbelieve, that Taylor had any competitor in other languages." In his writings we do not know whether to admire most their style or their erudition. Above all, Taylor

was the first Englishman to issue an argumentative treatise in favour of religious toleration. This celebrated work, called *The Liberty of Prophesying*, was published in 1647. We would naturally have expected that the author of such a book would endeavour to put his theories into practice. This he actually did, but received the most utter opposition from the Presbyterian party. We read as follows in Carte's *Life of the Duke of Ormonde*, the wise and just Lord Lieutenant of these times :—

'The pulpits of the diocese, filled with Scots Covenanters, rang with nothing but warm exhortations to stand by the Covenant even unto blood, violent invectives against the bishop's person, and vehement harangues against Episcopacy and liturgies. The Bishop invited the ministers to friendly conferences, desired earnestly to speak with them, went to them, offered to satisfy them in anything that was reasonable, and courted them with the kindest offers. All the effect which this had upon the ministers was, that it put them upon entering into a new covenant, whereby they pledged themselves to speak with no bishop,

and to endure neither their government nor their persons. But it wrought very differently upon the better sort of people, who, by these methods, and by the refusal of the ministers to dispute (to which their own followers urged them, and interpreted their declining to be ignorance), were so far gained, that the Bishop, in less than two years, found his diocese generally conformable."

It is not pleasant work inquiring into these old disputes; but in this case the truth must be stated in order to defend the memory of a great and good man from the attacks made upon it. Looking at the matter impartially, and in accordance with modern ideas, anyone will say that these ministers had a right to hold what views they pleased upon Episcopal and liturgical questions; but they had no right to possess the revenues and to hold the livings of an Episcopal and liturgical Church, while they refused to submit to its authority, and denounced its practices. The Church clergy had been ejected during the Commonwealth, and these ministers had been placed in their livings; it would, therefore, have been treating them exactly on their own principles had they

been ejected at once, and the rightful owners restored. In place of this, they were invited to conform to the usages of the Church of Ireland; and had they done so, they would have been instituted to the different parishes, to which, however, they had legally no title. It is much to be regretted that some of these Presbyterian families suffered afterwards. But it must be remembered that on at least two occasions the Presbyterians were to a greater or less degree concerned in plots against the Government, and their sufferings were largely due to political and not religious grounds. Unhappily, the time for complete religious toleration had not yet arrived; but, at the same time, the Act compelling uniformity of worship was in Ireland administered in the widest possible spirit. Out of all the Presbyterian ministers who were in possession of livings belonging to the Church of Ireland, only fifty-nine declined to qualify for ministering in the Church as the law prescribed. Of these, thirty-eight were in the Diocese of Down and Connor, eight in that of Clogher, and thirteen in that of Raphoe.

Few incidents of importance attract our

attention during the latter years of the reign of Charles II. For the Church of Ireland it was a time of constant work and church restoration. How much had to be done and undone throughout the country, the following extracts from the writings of Williams, Bishop of Ossory, abundantly testify :—

"Things being somewhat settled, I went to live upon my bishoprick in Kilkenny, where I found the cathedral church and the bishop's house all ruined, and nothing standing but the bare walls, without roofs, without windows, but the holes, and without doors. Yet I resolved immediately to mend and repair one room, and to live in the bishop's house ; and as I had vowed that, if I should ever come to my bishoprick, I would wholly and fully bestow the first year's profit for the restoration of the church, so my witness in Heaven know that I have done it, and yet £1,000 more will not suffice to repair the church."

The following quotation is from a tract by the same bishop on *The Sad Condition of the Church and Clergy in the Diocese of Ossory*:—

"If you walk through Ireland, as I rode from Carlingford to Dublin, and from Dublin

to Kilkenny, and in my visitation thrice over the Diocese of Ossory, I believe that throughout all your travel you shall find it as I found it in all the ways I went; scarce one church standing, and sufficiently repaired, for seven that are ruined, and have only walls, and most of them without roofs, without doors, without windows, but the holes to receive the winds to entertain the congregation."

It was surely a time for quiet work, and the people and clergy laboured hard to repair the breaches; but the day of the Church's trouble was not over yet. Charles II died in 1685, and was succeeded by the bigoted James II.

James at once made it evident that he intended to make Romanism the national religion. But England was Protestant to the backbone; and James, slow as he was to understand the signs of the times, was aware that it was in Ireland he would succeed most easily. When he came to the throne, the condition of this island was more satisfactory than it had been for centuries. Religious toleration was almost universal, and, indeed, it may be confidently stated that, if men could have kept their religion in any way distinct from politics,

there would have been perfect peace. Roman Catholics were in possession of judicial and government offices, and were not interfered with as regards their religion. But James was a Papist, and his doctrine, like that of his Church, claimed everything for Rome. The Romanists soon gained practical ascendency in the South of Ireland. The Protestants were by degrees disarmed. They were turned out of the army and the militia. Judges were dismissed from the Bench simply for the crime of being Protestants. Ormonde was recalled, and Tyrconnell, a zealous Romanist, commonly known as "lying Dick Talbot," was appointed Lord Lieutenant. The Church clergy were tampered with. Forbidden to preach on controversial topics, it was promised that if they would accept Romanism, they would still be permitted to retain their livings, and were promised speedy promotion. The names of two clergymen only are on record as having been found faithless in this time of trouble. Peter Manly, Dean of Derry, and Alexander Moore, Precentor of Connor, have gained this evil notoriety. Ten of the bishops were expelled from Ireland, and their incomes, amounting to

above £12,000, were given to Romanists. Further outrages were feared. It was whispered that another general massacre of Protestants was intended. Just at the same time, the inhabitants of Derry got notice that a regiment of Roman Catholics, lately raised by Lord Antrim, was on its way to take possession of the place. There was great excitement in the Maiden City. But time was passing. Already the regiment was in sight, and no determination had been come to. Five minutes more, and the regiment of "Redshanks" would be within the walls. Providentially, some thirteen young apprentices took the law into their own hands. They raised the drawbridge and locked the gate before anyone could interfere, and Antrim's men were left outside. Their names were William Cairns, Henry Campsie, William Crookshank, Alexander Cunningham, John Cunningham, Samuel Harvey, Samuel Hunt, Alexander Irwin, Robert Morrison, Daniel Sherrard, Robert Sherrard, James Stewart, and James Spike. So the deed was done, and Ulster raised the banner of Protestantism.

Soon after, James II had to fly from Eng-

land, where the invasion of William of Orange was eagerly welcomed. Driven out of England, James came over to Ireland, where the Roman Catholic population was still loyal to him. Gradually his forces gained command of the whole island, with the exception of Derry, which stood firmly to its guns—the stronghold and hope of Irish Protestantism. The story of that glorious resistance need not be told in this place. Lundy may prove a traitor, but the men of Derry are true. Famine and pestilence may do their worst, but if James's troops ever gain admittance, it will be into a silent city of the dead. In the meantime, James summons a Parliament to Dublin. For the first and only time in history, a Parliament sat to legislate which consisted only of Roman Catholics. It passed two monstrous Acts. By the first it confiscated thousands of acres of land which were in the possession of Protestants. The second was an Act of Attainder, under which, by the stroke of a pen, 2,445 men of all ranks were declared guilty of treason, and were made amenable to the penalties of death and forfeiture.

But Derry still held out, and help was near.

After a siege of 105 days, relief was brought to the starving garrison, and the troops of James retreated. The following June, William himself landed at Carrickfergus. On the 1st of July was fought the ever-memorable Battle of the Boyne. William was successful, and Ireland was saved.

CHAPTER XII.

WILLIAM AND MARY (1690-1694)—WILLIAM (1694-1702)—ANNE (1702-1714).

THE defeat of James at the Boyne, and the subsequent successes of William, were the victory of Protestantism. James fled the country, and all ranks acquiesced in the new dynasty. Some of the clergy, however, in England and in this country, felt a difficulty in taking the oath of allegiance to William. They had taken a solemn oath to James before Heaven. How could it be annulled? As a matter of fact, however, James had run away, and this might have been held to absolve them from their oath. Some of the difficulties were got over by the form of the new obligation. It said nothing about William and Mary's right to the throne. It ran simply thus:—"I, A.B., do sincerely promise and swear that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to

their Majesties King William and Mary." So simple a promise might have been expected to suit all persons. Moreover, every oath must be taken in connection with circumstances; and the fact that James had proved false on his side, and was the declared enemy of civil and religious liberty, was surely sufficient to justify the clergy in taking the new oath. In England, however, six bishops and 400 beneficed clergy were unable to do so, and were deprived of their livings. However we may differ from their views, we must admire their consistency, and willingness to undergo hardship for what they believed to be right, which were exhibited by these men, who were called "the Nonjurors." In Ireland, however, only Sheridan, Bishop of Kilmore, and a very few of the inferior clergy, found themselves in this position. Amongst the latter was Charles Leslie, Chancellor of the Diocese of Connor, a man of great learning and literary ability. One of his most remarkable works was a treatise in defence of the Christian religion, entitled, *A Short Method with a Deist.* Of Leslie's reasoning powers Dr. Johnson has spoken in the highest terms. "Leslie," he

said, "was a reasoner, and a reasoner who was not to be reasoned against." He afterwards retired to his property at Glasslough, Co. Monaghan, where he died April 13th, 1722.

William's first care, as soon as he was settled in the kingdom, was to fill up the vacant bishoprics in the Church of Ireland. James had left several of these unfilled, and in some cases had transferred their revenues to the Romanists. Among the most famous of the new appointments were William King to the Bishopric of Derry, and Narcissus Marsh to the Archbishopric of Cashel. The bench of bishops having been completed, a thorough investigation was held into the state of the various dioceses, and the characters of the clergy. The commissioners for this purpose were Dopping, Bishop of Meath, and King, Bishop of Derry. The first case was that of Hackett, who was unworthily filling the see of Down and Connor, once held by the great and good Jeremy Taylor. This man, appointed in 1672, had for twenty years been notoriously negligent of his duty, and had lived for the most part in England. He

was deprived in 1694, and Samuel Foley, a godly man, consecrated in his stead. At the same time, Leonard Matthews, Archdeacon of Down, and Thomas Ward, Dean of Connor, were deprived of their offices and livings for misconduct, and other clergy were censured or deprived. Thus did the Church of Ireland show herself able, when needful, to reform herself.

But during the disturbed times which had so distracted Ireland, the cause of religion had naturally lost ground. Men were indeed ready to fight for their respective parties; but there was little evidence of the consistent practice of the Christian life. There was also the greatest ignorance among the people in regard to even the main facts of Christianity. King, Bishop of Derry, personally visited each parish in his diocese, and has left a record of his experiences. Among the Dissenters he found 800 or more, whom he personally addressed, who could not give any account of their own catechism, and a large proportion of them could not repeat the Lord's Prayer. He then honestly adds that this ignorance was not peculiar to Dissenters, for too many of the Church people were in the same condition.

In the year 1697 we have the first Acts passed of what is known as the Penal Code. All Romish ecclesiastics were ordered to leave the kingdom; burials were forbidden in any suppressed monastery, abbey, or convent; and Protestants were forbidden to intermarry with Papists. Several additional statutes were added to the code during the next reign. Modern Christian thought is, indeed, rightly opposed to such laws; but it must be remembered that Protestants had had bitter experience of Papal persecution, and that, therefore, these statutes were designed not so much in retaliation for past sufferings, as to prevent their recurrence. On the other hand, they were undoubtedly unjust, and were the means of embittering the animosity between the Celtic population on the one hand, and the English and Scotch settlers on the other.

In 1698 an Act was passed to encourage the building of houses on Church lands; as a matter of fact, there were very few glebe-houses throughout the country; and in many cases this want afforded an excuse to the clergy for non-residence in their parishes. According to the new Act, persons building

glebe-houses were to receive from their successors two-thirds of the money expended, who in turn were to receive one-third from the next incumbent. Good results at once followed the passing of this Act.

But in the same year a most unfortunate and unjust Act was passed in reference to Irish manufactures. Trade jealousies had existed for a long time between the two countries. In the reign of Charles II, the English Government had prohibited the importation of live cattle from Ireland. The owners of stock naturally turned them into beef, and so evaded the Act. About the same time also fresh attention was given to sheep-breeding. But as they were not allowed to export the living animals, the question as to how best to utilize the skins and fleeces was forced upon the people. The result was the establishment of cloth manufactories in the South and West. But woollen cloth was also the staple manufacture of England. A collision was inevitable. Englishmen took fright, and the result was that the English Parliament placed such additional duties on the exportation of Irish woollen goods, that they crushed the industry.

Woollen goods were to be an English monopoly, while the Irish were encouraged to cultivate flax. But the injustice lay here: Ulster had already come to the front in the linen trade, but no flax was grown in the South and West. A prosperous industry was therefore crushed, and indirectly it was a severe blow to the Church, as the majority of those engaged in the manufacture were English settlers and Churchmen, who were compelled to forsake a country where it was not lawful for them to carry on their trade.

King William died in 1702, his wife, Queen Mary, having departed this life eight years previously, December 28th, 1694.

During the reign of Anne, William's successor, the Penal Code was completed. The Roman Catholics were reduced to the lowest point of depression. In addition to the points already noted in the previous reign, Romanists were rendered incapable of being members of Parliament, or of any municipal corporation; they might not vote at elections, nor hold any office under the Crown. All professions also, except the medical, were closed against them. There can be no doubt that these measures

hindered the spread of Protestantism. It was little likely that any effort made to convert the Romanists in Ireland would, under the circumstances, be successful. The religion of the oppressor is not likely to commend itself to the oppressed.

Nor did the Penal Code weigh heavily on the Roman Catholics alone. In the Parliament of 1703 it was also enacted that all persons being in any office or trust under the Crown, besides making the declaration and taking the oaths, "shall also receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, according to the usage of the Church of Ireland, in some parish church, upon some Lord's Day, immediately after Divine Service and sermon." By this sacramental test all Presbyterians, no matter how loyal to the Crown of England, were virtually debarred from holding office. Such a proceeding also did not help but injure the Church of Ireland, by exposing it to the odium and jealousy of those who, though differing in many points, might yet on broad questions have been induced to work with it. In fact, the welfare of the Church of Ireland does not seem to have been the chief aim of those in authority. It

was rather thought to Anglicise Ireland by means of the Church; whence it happened that preferment in their own Church was very sparingly given the Irish clergy, but persons were sent over from England for the express purpose "of upholding the English interest in Ireland." Indeed, later on it became an established rule that on the Irish bench of bishops those of English birth and training should be in a majority over those of Irish origin.

At the same time, the history of the Church at this time presents a melancholy picture of ruined buildings and a pauper clergy. Vigorous efforts to remedy this state of things were, indeed, made by Archbishops Marsh and King. The latter was the means of having fourteen churches repaired, seven rebuilt, and nineteen erected where no Divine Service had been performed since the Reformation.

Various efforts were made to remove the poverty of the clergy, notably that by Archbishop King to get back the first-fruits and twentieths, which had been in the possession of the Crown since the Reformation. The following letter from Archbishop King to Mr. Southwell illustrates this:—

"The great thing wanting is a fund to maintain ministers. I want maintenance for ten or twelve, and, except a table of tithing be settled, it is impossible to supply the diocese with ministers. I have not above fifty in the country, and of these five are not worth £100 per annum, of the others above a dozen have not £40 per annum. Several have nothing at all certain, and some have but £10 or £16. This account is true; and perhaps if Her Majesty knew how low the clergy is here, she would not grudge them their first-fruits and twentieth parts."

For some years, however, nothing was accomplished; but at length, in the year 1710, the matter was brought to a successful termination, chiefly owing to the energy of Swift, the famous Dean of St. Patrick's. In the memorial which he sent to the Crown we get some idea of the value of these taxes. He writes:—

"The twentieth parts are twelve pence in the pound paid annually out of all ecclesiastical benefices, as they were valued at the Reformation. They amount to about £500 per annum, but of little or no value to the

Queen, after the officers' and other charges are paid, though much trouble and vexation to the clergy.

"The first-fruits paid by incumbents upon their promotion amounted to about £450 per annum, so that Her Majesty, in remitting about £1,000 per annum to the clergy, will really lose not above £500."

Queen Anne accordingly granted the first-fruits and the twentieth parts to the clergy of Ireland, and arranged that the bishops should be a corporation for the disposal of the first-fruits, and that the twentieth parts should be remitted. The first-fruits were largely used for providing glebes for the incumbents of parishes.

Convocation of the Irish clergy met during this reign with the Parliaments of 1703, 1705, 1709, 1711, and 1713. Among other questions, that of the conversion of the natives was constantly before them. The Irish language was still in general use throughout the greater part of the country; and any attempt at conversion would have had to be done through the medium of that language.

The Lower House seems to have been

thoroughly in earnest about the matter, and desired the appointment of mission preachers qualified to address the Irish in their own language. They also passed resolutions in favour of printing the Bible, the Prayer Book, and certain religious works in the Irish tongue. The Upper House, consisting of the bishops, seems to have taken little notice of these and other recommendations. Archbishop King writes to the Bishop of Cloyne, in reference to the Convocation of 1705, as follows:—"Some men are very dexterous at doing nothing. I wish those of that temper would keep out of places that require something to be done. You have had a session without one clause to the good of the Church." In 1709, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge proffered its assistance in printing Irish works, but it was not acted on; and there is a remarkable opinion expressed by King in an unpublished letter of July 21, 1724: "It is plain to me, by the methods which are pursued by both the civil and ecclesiastical powers, that there never was or is any design that all should be Protestants." Thus much precious time was wasted, and the breach widened between Protestant and Romanist.

CHAPTER XIII.

GEORGE I (1714-1727)—GEORGE II (1727-1760)—GEORGE III (1760)—THE UNION.

GEORGE I ascended the throne in 1714. During this reign and part of the next the history of the Church of Ireland largely revolves round one name—that of William King, who, in the latter part of 1690, was removed from the Deanery of St. Patrick's to the Bishopric of Derry. We have seen how he exerted himself there in the discharge of his episcopal duties, and that in the face of much opposition. He says himself: "I believe that no bishop was ever more railed at for the first two years than I was at Londonderry by both clergy and laity. But by good offices, steadiness of my duty, and just management, I got the better of them, and they joined with me heartily in promoting those very things for which they opposed and condemned me at first." In 1702 he was translated from Derry

to the Archbishopric of Dublin, where he died in 1729, in the eightieth year of his age.

During the whole of the eighteenth century religion was at a very low ebb. The reaction from an extreme is always dangerous, and the cause of religion suffered much in the reaction from Puritanism, which would have turned human existence into a life-long penance. In the latter part of the seventeenth century this reaction had shown itself in open licentiousness of life, while virtue and morality were merely subjects for ridicule. This state of things passed into the outward respectability, but practical irreligion, of the next century, when a sceptical spirit arose which questioned the truth of all religion, and which, in an age when there was little religious fervour even among those who professed Christianity, exercised a baleful effect upon society. The title of one of Bishop Berkeley's works, published in 1735, illustrates this state of things:—*A Discourse addressed to magistrates and men in authority, occasioned by the enormous license and irreligion of the times.*

The other difficulties which Archbishop King and others, who with him were zealous in the

interests of religion, had to encounter, were many and serious.

In the first place, there was the poverty of the clergy and the scarcity of glebe-houses. To understand this, we must go back to the Reformation. The appropriations and appropriate tithes which at that time belonged to the monasteries and religious communities were seized by the Crown. The amount of property was large, chiefly owing to the fact, as we saw at the commencement of this History, that, from the unsettled state of the country, and from other causes, the character of the pre-Reformation Church of Ireland was largely monastic. When the monasteries were dissolved, the property was not returned to the Church, but was taken by the Crown, and then granted to different laymen. These grants were called "impropriations." To add to the Church's misfortunes, some of the new occupants seized also neighbouring lands and glebe-houses, which still belonged to the clergy, on the pretence that anciently they were appropriations; and not only so, but when, owing to Queen Anne's Bounty, means were provided for purchasing glebes, many of the land-

lords refused to sell enough ground for a glebe and parsonage.

But the reader may ask, In spite of this, were there not bishoprics and valuable livings in the Church of Ireland? Certainly there were; but in the previous chapter mention was made of the habit of sending over bishops from England. During the reigns of the first two Georges this practice increased greatly; and we find Archbishop King protesting again and again. The English bishops were indeed generally known as "the foreigners." There was therefore little worldly inducement to Irishmen to enter the ministry. We gather the following facts respecting Church patronage from the letters of King and of Dean Swift.

It was almost impossible for an earnest bishop to reward his deserving clergy. Archbishop King writes :—

"As to my own case, I have a good number of clergymen employed in my diocese, *but most of them curates*, at £30 or £40 per annum; the good benefices are generally in the gift of the Crown or other patrons; insomuch that *there are not seven in my disposal worth £100 per annum.*"

In another letter, written May 29th, 1725, he says :—

"I told you in my last that since my Lord Lieutenant was nominated to the government, about £18,000 annual rent have been given in benefices, employments, and places to strangers, and not £500 to any in Ireland; but I find I was mistaken, for I find there have been above £20,000 disposed in that way. The bishops sent us from England follow the same track in many instances. The Bishop of Derry has given about £2,000 in benefices to his English friends and relations. The Bishop of Waterford has not only given all livings of value in his gift to his brother and relations, but likewise his vicar-generalship and registry, *though none of them reside in the kingdom.*"

Dean Swift tells the same tale. In fact, so pressing did the case become, that he went over to England, and had an interview with Sir Robert Walpole, the Prime Minister, "with design of representing the affairs of Ireland to him in a true light, not only without any view to himself, but to any party whatsoever." A letter of Swift to the Earl of Peterborough gives a full account of the interview. The two

following grievances have special reference to the Church :—

1. "That whereas there is a University in Ireland, founded by Queen Elizabeth, where youth are instructed with a much stricter discipline than either in Oxford or Cambridge, it lies under the greatest discouragements, by filling all the principal employments, civil and ecclesiastical, with persons from England, who have neither interest, property, acquaintance, nor alliance in that kingdom.

2. "That several of the bishops sent over to Ireland, having been clergymen of obscure condition, *and without other distinction than that of chaplains to the governors*, do frequently invite over their old acquaintance or kindred, to whom they bestow the best preferments in their gift."

No wonder that, with a Church thus governed, little was done for the conversion of Roman Catholics. No wonder that Dissent gained ground. Yet, wherever the Church was properly managed, it made headway. This was especially the case in the diocese of Dublin. Archbishop King, when endeavouring to raise money for building churches,

wrote a letter to Lord Palmerston, from which the following is a quotation :—

"I find wherever a church is built, and a regular minister and service settled, it greatly reformeth the manners of the people. I have two or three instances of this near the city. Ringsend was one of the lewdest, irreligious places near Dublin. Since I have got a church there, a good clergyman, and constant service, it is a pleasure to see the alteration. No church is better frequented ; no congregation appears with more decency or devotion. The same may be said of Glassnevin.

"Another reason why I was for having a church there is the planting it with Protestants. I find nothing contribute more effectually to that than the near neighbourhood of a church. The County Wicklow was full of Quakers and Dissenters, but, having got seven new churches in it, and filled them with good men, there is hardly a meeting left in that part. I could give several other instances, but should be too tedious."

In the year 1719 the first practical step was taken towards the repeal of the Penal Code. By the Act of Uniformity all persons were

ordered to attend Divine Service in the parish church every Sunday and holiday, under pain of forfeiting twelve pence for non-attendance; and every dissenting minister was liable to a penalty of £100 for officiating in any congregation. These penalties were now annulled, provided that Dissenters and Quakers took the oath or declaration of allegiance, and declared their disbelief in the peculiar doctrines of the Church of Rome; and provided also that no religious meeting should be held with closed doors.

In this connection, for the sake of lucidity, the other steps will be given by which religious toleration was at length secured for this country.

In 1774 an Act was passed "to enable His Majesty's subjects, of whatever persuasion, to testify their allegiance to him." Papists were required to declare their belief "that the Pope of Rome neither had, nor ought to have, any *temporal or civil jurisdiction*, power, superiority, or pre-eminence within this realm."

In 1780 the sacramental test was abolished, and offices in the State were thus opened to Protestant Dissenters.

In 1782 Papists were permitted to acquire land by purchase, which had previously been illegal. In the same year, marriage of Dissenters by Dissenting ministers was declared valid.

In 1793 further relief was given to Roman Catholics. They were, in fact, placed on an equality with Protestants, with one noteworthy exception. A Papist might vote at an election, but could not himself sit in Parliament.

In 1829 this final disability was removed.

The middle of the eighteenth century is remarkable for a great revival in religion. With this movement one name will ever be connected—that of the great John Wesley. The son of a clergyman, John Wesley entered Christ Church, Oxford, in 1720. His parents were anxious that he should take Holy Orders, and, according to his own statement, Divine Providence directed him to *The Imitation of Christ*, by Thomas à Kempis, and to the devotional works of the great Irish bishop, Jeremy Taylor. In 1725 he received deacon's orders, and in the following year he was elected to a Fellowship in Lincoln College. Soon a little society was formed in Oxford, of

which the leading spirits were John Wesley and his brother Charles. It was sometimes in ridicule called "The Godly Club," sometimes "The Sacramentarian." One day, as some of its members were pushing their way "through a ridiculing crowd" to receive the Holy Eucharist at St. Mary's Church, a young student was looking on, and came boldly forward and joined the number. This was George Whitfield, whose name will always be associated with the Wesleys, and who became one of the chief preachers of the new movement. The members of this club were bound together by certain rules. Together they partook of the Holy Communion every Sunday. During the week some visited the poor, others taught in the workhouse, others in the parochial schools or in the gaol. Finally, from the regularity of their lives and conduct, a nickname was given them, which has clung to them ever since—viz., "The Methodists."

The years 1735-6 were spent by the Wesleys in Georgia, as missionaries under the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." The year 1739 may, however, be considered as the crisis of Wesley's life. He had

then to decide whether he would remain an Oxford don, or settle down in a special parish, or undertake what was really a great Home Mission. The following are his own reasons for his decision :—Church order which forbids intrusion into other parishes must be disregarded at a time of prevailing wickedness, with which the Church is quite unable to grapple. "God commands me," he said, "according to my power, to instruct the ignorant and reform the wicked. . . . .

"*I look upon all the world as my parish;* thus far, I mean, that in whatever part of it I am, I judge it meet, right, and my bounden duty, to declare unto all that are willing to hear the glad tidings of salvation."

Into the subsequent history of Methodism in England the scope of this History does not permit us to enter. The first of the Methodist preachers who landed in Ireland was a Mr. Williams. A small Society was formed in Dublin. Williams wrote to Wesley of his success, and the leader of the movement crossed the Channel, and landed in Ireland, August 9th, 1747. In this and his subsequent visits he made many converts, and had soon a large staff

of agents at work in this country. As in England, he met at times with the greatest courtesy and assistance from the parochial clergy, at others with distrust, if not with positive opposition.

What was Wesley's purpose? He always desired that his followers should be a leavening power within the Church. Schism he regarded as a deadly sin. The separation of the Methodists from the Church may have been the only possible course from the views of certain of his principal co-workers, or indeed the logical outcome of some of Wesley's acts; but such an event he deprecated with all his powers. The following quotations from his writings testify to this :—

"I am a High Churchman, and the son of a High Churchman." (1775 A.D.)

"I advise all our friends to keep to the Church; God has raised us up for the Church chiefly, that a little leaven may leaven the whole lump." (1778 A.D.)

"I declare that I live and die a member of the Church of England, and that none who regard my judgment or advice will ever separate from it." (1790 A.D.)

"Bless the Church and King, and grant us truth and peace for ever." (March 2nd, 1791—the day of his death.)

In Ireland the Methodists of Wesley's type lasted longer than elsewhere, and when, in 1816, the Methodist Conference declared that Methodists were at liberty to communicate where they pleased, a large body separated and assumed the appropriate title of "Primitive Methodists." For nearly fifty years they maintained this attitude, resorting to the Church for the sacraments, and to their own chapels (especially in the evening) for prayer and the discourses of their own lay preachers. Once a year they assembled in St. Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin, when one of the canons preached to them, and there was a special celebration of the Holy Communion. Of late years, however, the majority of these have been absorbed in what is now called the "Methodist Church;" although in matters of Church discipline and government they have completely broken away from the advice and example of their great founder.

We must now give a brief statement of the events which led to the Union of Great Britain and Ireland.

In the reign of Henry VII a statute was passed which is commonly known as "Poynings' law," from the name of the then Lord Deputy. By it all bills had to receive the assent of the Sovereign and of the English Parliament before they could be introduced into the Irish. From the time of Charles I the custom prevailed of considering "the heads for a bill" in the Irish Parliament, and then submitting them to the English before the bill was actually brought in. Swift was perhaps the first to protest publicly against this state of things; but the agitation which he raised soon subsided. In 1763, Lucas, a citizen of Dublin, founded *The Freeman's Journal*, and advocated the freedom of the Irish Parliament. Finally, what has been called "the Patriot Party" was formed, at first under the leadership of Flood, and afterwards, when he accepted a post under the English Government, of Henry Grattan. This party was supported by the Earl of Bristol, who was also the Bishop of Derry—a prelate who was a credit neither to the Church nor to his political friends. Finally, in 1782, the independence of the Irish Parliament was conceded, by an Act which declared that the people

of Ireland were to be bound only by laws enacted by the King and by the Parliament of Ireland.

Nothing more short-sighted and imperfect than this Act can well be imagined. No provision whatever was made for imperial interests. On matters of public importance it was quite possible for the English Parliament to decide in one way, and the Irish in another. Such friction soon arose between the two Houses. Grattan's Parliament was a miserable failure, and that in spite of the undoubted ability and eloquence of many of its members.

The failure of Grattan's Parliament culminated in the rebellion of '98. What then was to be done? Only one course was open—to unite the two Parliaments into one great Imperial Parliament for the management of the affairs of the whole nation. This was accordingly effected by the Act of Union passed in 1800, which came into effect on January 1st, 1801—a union which in every way has proved itself beneficent to this country, and which Protestants are determined at all hazards to maintain. In fact, in the year 1800, the

English nation did what should have been accomplished five centuries before.

This union of the kingdoms once effected, it followed as a natural sequence that the Churches of England and Ireland should also be united. This was accordingly done. Henceforth there was to be one United Church, and it was declared, in words that are noteworthy in the light of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of Ireland, that "the continuance and preservation of the said United Church was to be deemed and taken to be an essential and fundamental part of the Union."

Among the great names which adorned the Irish Church during this period, space only permits us to briefly notice the following:—

Berkeley, Bishop of Cloyne (1734-1753), the great idealist, philosopher, and Christian apologist.

Robinson, Archbishop of Armagh (1765-1794), the great administrator and benefactor of the Church. To him Armagh owes, in addition to many churches and rectories, the palace, the infirmary, the public library, and the observatory.

Percy, Bishop of Dromore (1782-1811), a man of great piety, and whose collection of ancient ballads has had much influence on the poetry of the nineteenth century. Many who are familiar with the name "Percy's *Reliques*," do not know that he was an Irish bishop.

CHAPTER XIV.

FROM THE UNION TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THE organization and condition of the Church of Ireland at the time of the Union was as follows :—There were four archbishoprics—Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam. In the province of Armagh there were the bishoprics of Meath and Clonmacnois, Clogher, Down and Connor, Kilmore, Dromore, Raphoe, Derry. In the province of Dublin—Kildare, Ossory, Ferns and Leighlin. In the province of Cashel — Limerick, Ardfert, and Aghadoe; Waterford and Lismore; Cork and Ross; Cloyne, Killaloe, and Kilfenora. In that of Tuam—Elphin; Clonfert and Kilmacduagh; Killala and Achonry. There were thirty-three deaneries and thirty-four archdeaconries. Some of the sees were without cathedrals. There were 1,120 benefices with cure of souls, and 111 sinecures. There were, however, only

1,001 churches for these 1,120 benefices, and only 354 parsonages.

The seventy years after the Union were years of steady progress for the Church; and while she had much to do in setting her own house in order, she neglected neither home nor foreign missionary work. The work commenced by Wesley, whether favourably or unfavourably regarded by individual clergymen, had the effect of rousing all to greater eagerness in the cause of Christ. The Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge had been founded in 1792. The Irish Society was formed in 1818; the first Protestant Orphan Society dates from the same year; while in 1782 the first Sunday School in Ireland was held by Dr. Kennedy, in the little parish of Bright, in the diocese of Down. In 1809 the Sunday School Society was founded, to systematize and encourage the work.

During the first thirty years of the Union one of the most pressing questions was that of the clerical income. The greater part of the Church's endowment was derived from tithes, which had been in her possession before the Reformation. These tithes were paid not by

the owners but by the occupiers of the soil. The majority of those paying were thus not members of the Church of Ireland. Moreover, in the case of an unpopular tax, the agents who were willing to collect it were often not of high character, and their conduct gave rise to much complaint. Moreover, the funds needful for building churches and providing necessaries for Divine Service were also assessed upon the whole population, and this was likewise felt to be a grievance. To meet this, in 1833 the ChurchTemporalities Act was passed, by which a fund to meet these necessities was raised in the following way :—The archbishoprics were reduced to two, and eight bishoprics were done away with, and their revenues appropriated for this purpose. The province of Cashel was joined to that of Dublin, and Tuam to Armagh. The bishopric of Clogher was joined to the archbishopric of Armagh ; Kilmore, Elphin, and Ardagh were made one see ; Dromore was joined to Down and Connor, Raphoe to Derry, Kildare to the archbishopric of Dublin, Ossory to Ferns and Leighlin, Waterford and Lismore to Cashel, Cloyne to Cork and Ross, Clonfert and Kilmacduagh to Killaloe and Kilfenora, Killala and Achonry to Tuam.

In 1838 was passed the Tithe Rent-Charge Act, by which the payment of tithe was transferred from the tenant to the landlord; and as the majority of the landlords were members of the Church, only a small proportion of the clerical income was derived from persons of another creed.

But the Church was exposed to the attacks of two different enemies. In the first place, there were those who objected to any union between Church and State, and there were also those who objected to the Establishment of the Church of Ireland, on the ground that it was only the Church of the minority of the population. Finally, in 1865, Mr. Dillwyn moved a resolution in the House of Commons —"That the position of the Irish Church was unsatisfactory, and called for the early attention of Her Majesty's Government." This resolution was strongly opposed by Mr. Gladstone. In the next Parliament a Royal Commission was appointed to consider the state of the Church; but before it had presented its report, completely changing his attitude, Mr. Gladstone carried in the House of Commons certain resolutions, which vir-

tually pledged the House to the Disestablishment and Disendowment of the Irish Church. He next brought in a bill to suspend all action as regards the Church in the way of preferment, until a settlement was effected. This passed the House of Commons, but was thrown out by the Lords. On an appeal to the country, a majority was returned favourable to Mr. Gladstone's proposals, and the bill for the spoliation of the Church of Ireland was passed by a majority of 114. After some opposition it passed the House of Lords, and received the Royal assent. By this bill it was enacted—

1. That on and after January 1, 1871, the union between the Churches of England and Ireland should be dissolved, and the Irish Church should cease to be established.

2. That three Commissioners should be appointed to carry out the details of the Act.

3. That the Church should appoint a Representative Body who would deal with these Commissioners, and to whom the life interests of the clergy, &c., commuted for a capital sum, might be paid over, subject to the payment of their annuities for life to the present possessors.

4. That £500,000 should be paid to the Representative Body in lieu of private endowments.

Organized action on the part of the Church was now needed; but how was this to be effected? Convocation had not met in Ireland since the reign of Queen Anne. Finally, however, a Convocation of the clergy was summoned to meet in Dublin in September, 1869. The Upper House consisted of archbishops and bishops, whose names were as follows:— Beresford (Armagh), Trench (Dublin), Butcher (Meath), O'Brien (Ossory), Daly (Cashel), Knox (Down), Fitzgerald (Killaloe), Gregg (Cork), Graves (Limerick), Bernard (Tuam), Alexander (Derry), Verschoyle (Kilmore). The Lower House chose Dr. West, Dean of St. Patrick's, as Prolocutor. Certain resolutions were passed:—

1. "That we are now called upon, not to originate a constitution for a new communion, but to repair a sudden breach in one of the most ancient Churches in Christendom." Thus did the Church of Ireland maintain her connection with the past.

2. "That under the present circumstances of the Church of Ireland the co-operation of her faithful laity is more than ever desirable."

It was also determined to hold a General Synod of bishops, clergy, and laity, to take measures for the future well-being of the Church. All licensed clergy were to vote for the clerical representatives to this Synod; and one clergyman was to be elected for every ten entitled to vote.

An assembly of laymen also met to consider the question of lay representation. It was agreed that the number of laymen entitled to sit in the General Synod should be double that of the clergy. An *ad interim* committee of clergy and laity was also appointed to draw up a draft scheme for the constitution of the Church, to be presented to the Synod for its consideration. The following is a brief sketch of the present constitution of the Irish Church:—

1. The Church professes faith in the Holy Scriptures.

2. She maintains the three orders of the ministry.

3. She accepts the faith professed by the primitive Church, but rejects the innovations in doctrine and worship which were laid aside at the Reformation.

4. She accepts the Thirty-nine Articles and

the Book of Common Prayer, reserving her right to make such changes as might seem good to the lawful authority of the Church.

5. The basis of Church government is parochial. The registered vestrymen in each parish elect a churchwarden and a select vestry, who, with the clergyman and the clergyman's churchwarden, manage parochial affairs. The registered vestrymen also elect two representatives for each licensed clergyman in the parish, to represent them in the Diocesan Synod. These representatives must be communicants.

6. The Diocesan Synod consists of the Bishop, licensed clergy, and the lay representatives. They elect a committee of themselves, called "The Diocesan Council," to manage the affairs of the diocese during the year. They also elect the representatives to the General Synod of the Church.

7. The Diocesan Synod also elects the Bishop of the Diocese.

8. The mode of Church patronage is founded on the New Zealand plan. The right of appointment to a parish is vested in a Board consisting of the Bishop, three Diocesan Nominators chosen by the Diocesan Synod, and three

Parochial Nominators elected by the registered vestrymen of each parish.

9. The constitution and Canons of the Church are carefully drawn up. The latter are certainly very clear and definite. When offering public prayer, for example, the officiating clergyman is not to turn his back to the congregation, nor is he to do obeisance to the Lord's Table, nor to anything thereon. Canon 36, which forbids the erection of a cross on the Holy Table, or on the wall or other structure behind it, deals with a subject on which much difference of opinion exists. No cross or banner is to be carried in processions.

In 1878 a revised Prayer Book was published by the authority of the General Synod of the Church of Ireland. The chief changes introduced are the following :—

1. The Apocrypha is no longer to be read in Divine Service.

2. The Athanasian Creed, though remaining in the Prayer Book, is no longer directed to be used.

3. A new rubric before the Litany, giving directions as to what is to be read with it when used as a separate service.

4. Certain prayers are added to the occasional prayers and thanksgivings.

5. Parents are permitted to be sponsors for their own children.

6. Some admirable verbal changes were made in the marriage service.

7. For the previous form of absolution in the Visitation of the Sick, that used in the Communion Office is substituted.

8. The following new services were added: (*a*) To be used on the first Sunday on which a minister officiates in a church to which he has been instituted. (*b*) A form of thanksgiving for the blessings of harvest. (*c*) A form for the consecration of a church. (*d*) A form of consecration of a churchyard, or other burial-ground.

These services are a most important addition to the Book of Common Prayer, while that for harvest has caused "Harvest Thanksgivings" to be universal throughout the country.

Thus did the Church evince her vitality and strength at what seemed the moment of her weakness. She was disestablished and disendowed through no fault of hers, as the following words of Mr. Gladstone distinctly show—"My

belief is that as far as abuses, in the common sense of the word, are concerned—that is, those which depend on the conduct of the bishops and clergy, and which are remediable by the wisdom and energy of the clerical body, or the purity of life of the lay members it is my belief that the Irish Church is entirely free from such abuses. We must all accord to that Church this praise: that her clergy are a body of zealous and devoted ministers, who give themselves to their sacerdotal functions in a degree not inferior to any other Christian Church." It was, under the providence of God, the seventy years of union with the English Church that enabled the Irish Church so successfully to weather the storm. Those seventy years were years of steady work upon Church lines. The laity were drawn closer to the Church, and made to feel their importance in her economy, so that when, in a moment, she was deprived of the inheritance of her fathers, she could appeal with confidence to the generosity of her sons.

In spite of all difficulties, the Church of Ireland has advanced steadily since Disestablishment. The clergy are indeed poorer, but

their zeal does not fail; and the laity have striven manfully with them to build up the breaches.

If troublous days are still before her, the Church of Ireland, under God, depends on the loyalty of her sons, whose prayer is that the Psalmist's statement may be true of her—

"Her leaf also shall not wither;
And look, whatsoever she doeth, it shall prosper."

C. W. Gibbs & Son, Printers, Dublin.

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